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The fundamental needs and urges of undergraduate students should and can be accommodated in the curriculum. However, the large body of information on student development is little reflected in curricula, college organization or instruction. Revitalized instruction depends upon the teacher's acceptance of certain postulates: that students have drives which operate toward healthy development if given opportunity, encouragement and freedom; that learning is not necessarily logical but psychological and gets direction and energy from the learner, not the discipline; that cognition and emotion are equally valuable and should be cultivated; that the interaction of peers is a much greater force than interaction between younger and older. Present faculty training and interests, the reward system, admissions process, organization of the curriculum and rules governing it all work to distort and hamper personal development. The curriculum should include: general courses providing a common body of allusion, illustration and principle necessary for people to communicate and share the same culture; liberal studies enabling students to sample different fields; contextual studies; and specialized courses. A much greater use of "affectively charged" courses would be appropriate, especially during the early years. Recognition should also be given to student desires for personal identity and satisfying interpersonal relationships and to the need to educate for the use of leisure time. Recommendations and a model curriculum are included. (JS)

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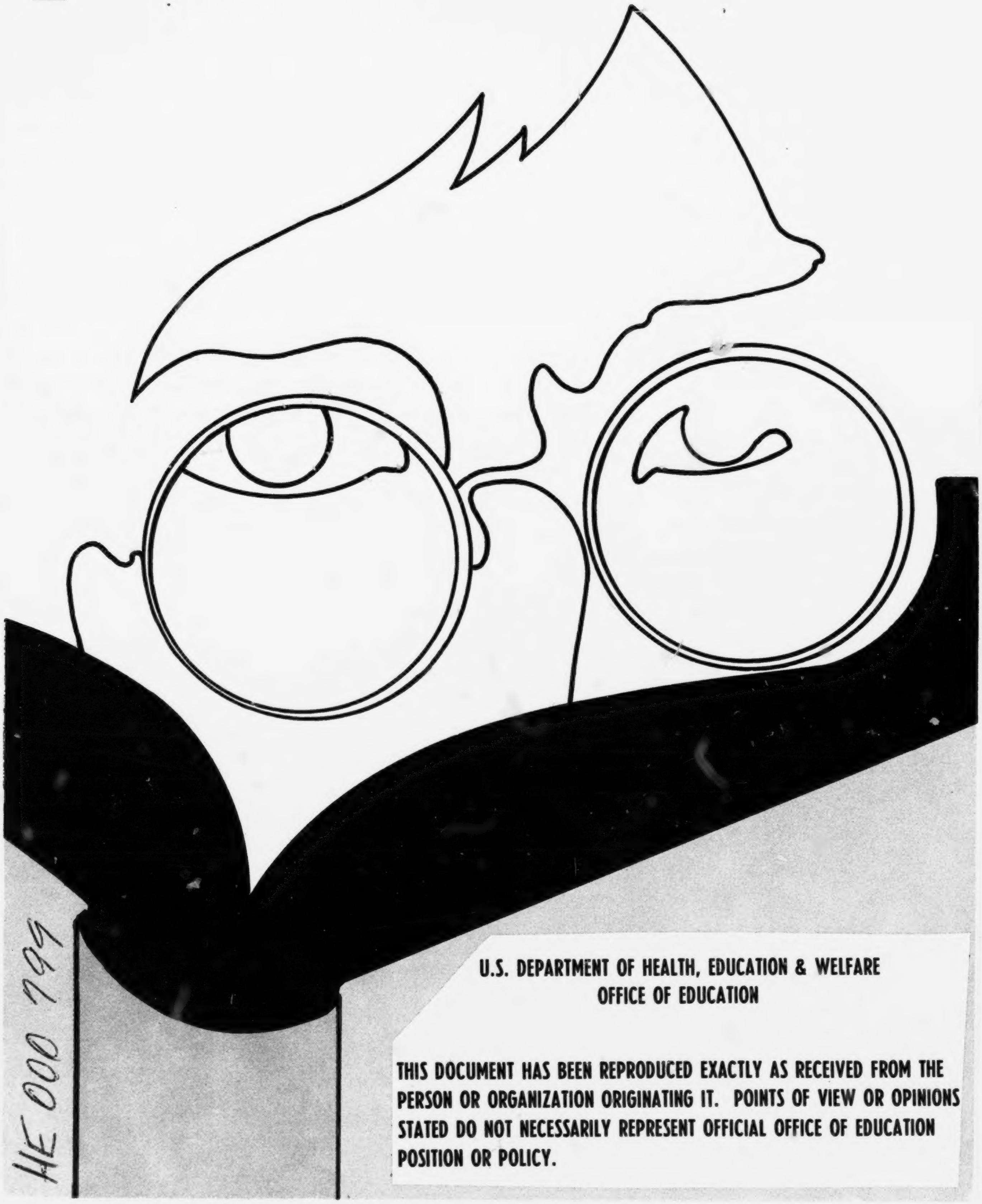
WIS B. MAYHEW

SREB RESEARCH MONOGRAPH NO. 14



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Contemporary College Students and the Curriculum

BY LEWIS B. MAYHEW

SREB RESEARCH MONOGRAPH NO. 14

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Foreword

Student unrest on our nation's campuses has captured the attention and concern of the American public in general and educators in particular. In its early stages, the protest movement focused on free speech, complaints about cafeteria food, military recruiters on the campus, dormitory hours, and other regulations established by the administration.

Some observers of the movement, however, have argued that the basic complaint of most dissatisfied students, even from the beginning, has been against the content and quality of the educational program. Much has been said about these protests and many studies of today's students have now been completed. The most recent studies have confirmed widespread feelings of dissatisfaction with the undergraduate collegiate experience.

The Southern Regional Education Board is concerned about implications of changing student values and attitudes for collegiate curriculum. The Board is pleased to publish Professor Mayhew's thoughts about the matter in this provocative essay which is based on his broad experience in higher education and the most recent studies of students.

SREB hopes that this paper will encourage more people to consider how to improve the undergraduate educational experience. We are indebted to Professor Mayhew for again addressing himself to this urgent question.

WINFRED L. GODWIN, *Director*
Southern Regional Education Board

Preface

It is a paradox in higher education that college officials neglect and ignore what we know about students, their needs, and their later careers. This paradox is reflected most glaringly in the college curriculum.

We know, of course, that Harvard is different from a small college in the Midwest or South and that these differences ought to be accommodated through different curricula. But we realize that they are not.

Foreign language, laboratory science and rhetoric are treated much the same everywhere. We suspect that students at a commuting college come for reasons different from those of students at a residential, or single-sex college, but these differences are seldom reflected in institutional goals, courses and degree requirements.

At one time there were few studies and little information available about students and the field of higher education, so these similarities were understandable. One school might have information about its students' academic aptitudes, but there were no data from other schools for comparison. Curriculum was based on tradition, and the tastes and interests of faculty members.

Now, however, there is abundant evidence about students, their varying environments and traits, and what they want and can get from curricula. There are also pertinent data about the kinds and quality of education in schools ranging from fledgling junior colleges to great universities.

Even more important information is the increasing and respectable body of knowledge about student development, regardless of the types of institution they attend or individual academic ability. But these student desires and needs are least reflected in orthodox curricula and collegiate organization and instruction.

Students who lament the irrelevance of curriculum are aware of how little the programs consider fundamental needs of young people at the college stage of their development. Surely it is time for institutions to use this information to appraise their work and adapt it to the service of their constituents—the students.

LEWIS B. MAYHEW

Stanford University
January, 1969

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chapter 1

The Students' Search for Self

College students seek and learn to make decisions for themselves about such crucial problems as marriage, a major, a vocation. However, they testify that they receive precious little help in learning to do so from their parents, their secondary school, or their college. Students simply drift into a major and although they testify that they are reasonably sure they have selected wisely, the fact that they shift majors so frequently is proof that they haven't. Illustrative of this indecision is a statement of one student:

> I decided on chemical engineering as a major during my senior year in high school. As a matter of fact, I decided when I was filling out my application that fall. We were asked to put down what we intended to major in. Since I had such an interest in science and math, I felt my major should be somewhere in that category, and I liked chemistry so well—I thought that would be a good way to start. After I got into algebra in ninth grade, I had always thought that my future plans should have something to do with math, because I've always liked math, and always did quite well in math. But I hadn't really considered chemical engineering until my senior year. In my junior year, the only thing I was sure of was that [my major] was going to be something in science and math. I don't have any idea as to why chemical engineering, rather than chemistry, physics, or some other science. As a matter of fact, when I put down chemical engineering I hardly knew what it was, except that it dealt with chemistry. I still think that's kind of my general idea of it. I can go ahead and take courses for at least two years, and then either become a chemist or a chemical engineer. I think I probably put down chemical engineering mainly because I enjoyed physics, and a chemical engineer employs more math and more physics than a pure chemist.[1]

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[1] Peter Madison, "Dynamics of Development and Constraint: Two Case Studies," Joseph Katz and Associates, *No Time for Youth* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), p. 76.

This same indecision is reflected by another who says:

> Well, I think the biggest obstacle, or whatever you want to call it, is that I'm not sure exactly what I want to do. There's no problem right now, because I don't have any decision to make right now. But the problem would be whether I would go on to get a graduate degree . . . and then go into a profession, or whether I'd be willing to settle down. This question may never come up, but I think that even if it did come up, it would be a hard decision to make, because I've always wanted to have an outside career.[2]

While students realize the need to make important decisions about themselves and feel the need for assistance in doing so, they give several other reasons which brought them to college, reasons which do seem to make sense in terms of their own life style. However, they find their motivations for being in college are not those which college teachers seem to value. Quite a few see in college an opportunity to gain deeper insight into their own identity. They bring with them quite strong vestigial remnants of childhood, of narcissism and excessive dependence on parents. They feel that somehow getting away from home, relating with others, and exploring the great ideas, which they anticipate, will help them discover who they are and where they want to go. Other students come with the calculated notion of gaining occupational skills which will be immediately rewarding and they don't really care about the nuances of academic discourse. Vague as their vocational goals may be, these students have assimilated the point of view prevailing in the culture. College is a place to gain occupational competence, and students are willing to exchange their time and money for those desirable skills.

Still others testify that they go to college because it is the thing to do. They come from professional or intellectual families in which it is simply assumed that children go to college. Or they come from communities which exercise heavy pressures for members of some classes to attend college. And not a few regard college as a burdensome task necessary to gain the credentials for a desired status in society. And, of course, women frequently attend college to find potential mates. In this regard, colleges seem to serve the role of "fatting houses" in some primitive societies. These are places where girls of marriageable age are placed to signify that they are eligible for marriage, and to screen out males who are not clearly eligible to be their mates.

A particularly serious-minded student, reflecting on why he attended a highly selective institution, said:

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.

> I was probably less concerned in the freshman year with the academic sort of things. I was more concerned with having a good time, with going out, getting drunk. . . . I always felt myself independent whether I was or not. The image really had nothing to do with reality. . . . When I first came I had the confidence of ignorance . . . just coming to college is enough to make anyone lose their confidence. Now my confidence is starting to come back. . . . The thing that I valued most was being in a position of power; being a leader, an organizer.[3]

Although students may appear quite poised and self-possessed to the middle-aged person, they testify that they are far from it. They are seeking independence from their parents and from childhood ways. They are seeking not only the appearance but the substance of self-confidence. And they appear to experience trauma when the conduct of courses and the comportment of professors always seems deliberately designed to impair their self-confidence and poise. They are inclined to steer away from close contact with others because they feel awkward in establishing such relationships. A number confess to complete inability to engage other students in any serious conversation, though they would like to do so.

In anticipation of college and from actual experiences there, students value personal relationships as among the most potent forces in their development. Illustrative is the almost universal testimony of students at one institution on an overseas experience shared by more than half of the graduate student body. Students go in relatively small groups to overseas centers accompanied by a small cadre of their own professors, and live in what is almost a hothouse environment of intimacy. When they return to the home campus, they maintain the friendships formed overseas even when living in widely different parts of the campus. It generally takes several terms for them to overcome the reliance they have placed on the overseas group. It could, of course, be argued that it was the overseas experience which was telling, but other sorts of overseas programs have not had such impact. This example simply underscores the point that the peer group culture is of such significance that it can scarcely be overemphasized. Contemporary research reinforces some insights of earlier educators such as Woodrow Wilson, who believed that a college with limited resources should construct only a residence hall, which would allow students to instruct each other. Then, if funds were available, a library might be a nice addition. He saved for low priority the construction of classroom facilities and the employment of a faculty.

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[3] Joseph Katz, "Four Years of Growth, Conflict, and Compliance," *Ibid.*, p. 10.

In a recent study, students at two highly selective institutions said they believed that personal relationships contributed most to changes in themselves. Responses to all questions of relations with other people—such as in living groups, contact with a variety of people on campus, dating, love, and marriage—raised personal influences to well over half of all that contributed to changes. And, indicative of the earlier point, "next in order of frequency are responses in which the student reports his own inward disposition as a major source of change; his self-awareness, personal philosophy, self-reliance and responsibility."[4]

In spite of publicized student concern for altruistic enterprises, and in spite of highly publicized student involvement in political action, students participate much more actively in social and athletic activities than they do in humanitarian or artistic ones. The dynamics of this phenomenon are complex. Students in interviews indicate slight guilt feelings about athletic activities in which they either actively or passively participate as somehow antithetical to the prevailing academic emphases which characterize their institutions. Yet they do participate in spite of those guilt feelings, even to neglect of their academic concerns. Their preoccupation with social activities is not simply gregariousness, but rather "evidence of the deep concern students have with just getting closer to other people and establishing more satisfactory communication."[5]

It has been observed that students in the 1950s and 1960s have for the most part rejected the large, somewhat formal, social activity in favor of small intimate group activity. The Saturday night phenomenon of several couples gathering in the apartment of one to prepare meals, listen to records, and engage in conversation, seems reasonably typical. This need for close communication with others is an element which runs through much of student commentary. College seniors reflecting on their four years' experience reveal again that relations with other people are of paramount importance to them. "They feel that they have made progress in their relations with others, and at the same time feel troubled that they have not come as close to other people as they desired."[6]

This desire for closeness is clear in the sexual sphere. Students do appear much more open in conversation about sexual matters than did college students in the '40s or earlier. The evidence about actual sexual behavior is inconclusive and does not support the notion of a revolution in sexual behavior; but it does support the belief that students in the 1960s view sexual behavior as a means of getting close to others rather than exclusively an erotic preoccupation. Whether students attend highly selective institutions and are somewhat conservative in their political behavior, or whether they are the militant leftists, this element of close friendship strongly appeals to them. Contrary to expectations and to the folklore, a relatively high proportion of college students does not date or else dates quite infrequently. Part of this seems to stem from an unsureness about themselves and how to go about the process of mate selection. One student who participated in Vietnam Summer could almost serve as a spokesman for his generation:

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[6] *Ibid.*

> So I went to college, and college meant I was living with people, other people my age. The atmosphere was very liberal . . . but for a year I went around being very rigid. . . . I didn't have very many friends other than the political ones. We formed ourselves a little clique. . . . We didn't involve other people in decision-making at all.
>
> But I sort of gradually changed. I made new friends in the second year. I got two new roommates that I was very close to. You know, I made a lot of close friends. That really helped me out a lot. It didn't change my basic politics, but it just helped me personally. I think that you can't have very strong political ideas or do a lot of political things without that interacting with your personality.[7]

Students, then, are forced to make important decisions with very little realistic information and few of the skills needed to fashion wise decisions. They are inclined to drift into the selection of a major and a vocation and frequently encounter serious problems in trying to live up to a commitment for which they are unprepared.

Undoubtedly, family aspirations are involved. Thus the young girl who identified strongly with her intellectual father set high political office as an initial vocational goal, only to find that this conflicted with other emerging facets of her personality. When the conflicts intensified, the quality of her academic work dropped and her anxiety and frustration rose.

Students seem to be demanding a great deal more information and a great deal more consultation early in their college careers on the choice of a major and a career. Women students, especially in highly selective institutions, face even more serious conflict. At institutions that send anywhere from 70 to 90 percent of their graduates to graduate and professional schools, women students are strongly drawn toward the life of a professional intellectual, yet sometimes consciously see the role of wife and mother as their primary goal. The conflict between these two aspirations seems generally dramatic and hurtful and women find that they really just drift into a resolution. A senior woman student, in her reflections, reveals these cross-currents:

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[7] Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), pp. 90-91.

> When I first came here, I thought definitely that when I was my present age I would not be thinking about marriage; that I would not be relating my goals or future plans to any other person. I thought that it was unwise; that it was wrong—not in a moral sense, but a mistake. I thought this because this is what my father told me for a long time. And, I believe it; I really do. I think it is a mistake, and I would teach my children the same thing. But I am doing it now.
>
> . . . .
>
> Well, this is actually . . . a personal conflict. Since I was in high school, I have always wanted to get a bachelor's degree and then get a master's. Then do something with either the government, such as the information agency, or in the foreign branch of some kind of private institution, such as a corporation. This is what I want to do, ideally. However, I would have to admit that [now] Neil enters in. In a way, I am really sorry that I've met Neil as early as I have because . . . if it came to choosing between someone I really liked and getting a job, I think I would probably get married. But yet, it would be so much easier if I didn't have to make any decision like this. If there was not the complication of having someone I might possibly marry, this [working with the government] is what I would ideally like to do. But now I don't know how it would be modified. It's too early to say.[8]

Students assign scant importance to the curriculum. Less than a fourth of the students at Berkeley and Stanford appear to have any intrinsic involvement with their courses in the formal curriculum. At Antioch College, less than 20 percent of one senior class listed its courses or the instruction it received among the strong influences shaping its development. Keniston, talking about the backgrounds of young radicals, says:

> Almost all reported little difficulty in doing outstanding work in high school and college but despite academic success most of these young men and women became increasingly disregardful of formal academic requirements and more and more dubious about the value of academic performances *per se*. One young radical said, for example:

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[8] Madison, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

> "I went through college with a fair amount of ease. I never studied. I could always get by without studying and play around a lot. I didn't take school that seriously. I never thought that you had to study to get a lot out of it. If I had a professor who I didn't like or who I thought was a poor professor, I wouldn't study for him and I would get a C and it wouldn't bother me. But if I had a professor that I liked and thought was a good teacher, then I would work very hard for him. . . . I always felt that the people who really studied hard were kind of dull people. I would see them getting into a box of not being really creative at all. I think they'd just be studying a lot and not learning anything. . . ."[9]

Students are generally strongly bent on getting good grades, thus reinforcing the generalization that grades are the single most important motivation for academic work. Yet students attach little importance in getting to know their professors personally either in or out of classes. Nor do students generally see professors as having been very influential in their lives. Yet, at the same time, they seem to search for a parent surrogate to whom they can transfer their feelings for their own fathers and with whom they can identify. Students are searching for appropriate role models from among the professoriate, but at the same time don't feel compelled to be intimately involved with many professors. A female student would like to be like Professor Blank, who was in China during the second World War and who formulated a lot of American foreign policy. She realizes that nobody could ever go back and do the same thing, yet she would like to be as he is. Such comments appear frequently in student testimony, but are always juxtaposed with other comments assigning even greater value to friends among the student peer group.

In the American tradition of adolescence and late adolescence there is a turning away from the family and from authority figures to peer group culture and an acceptance of its norms as infallible and regulatory. However, there is the countervailing need ultimately to find appropriate role models, and apparently American higher education has not consciously provided its students with much help in this.

Students of all sorts and at all institutions are caustic in their distaste for college housing. While changes are gradually coming into residence hall design, the typical residence hall seems almost deliberately contrived to deny students privacy or a chance to function socially. The long corridors lined with cell blocks of rooms, each of which contains two or three students, stand in stark contrast to the sorts of living arrangements middle-class students in the 1960s experienced at home before they reached college. They find the arrangements an outrage against their need for privacy and amenities and as quickly as regulations permit, move off-campus into apartments or rooming houses in which students can form small intimate groups. While many students, especially girls urged by their parents, happily enter a residence hall or sorority their freshman year, they find that by the end of the first semester their need for that particular security has disappeared, and they seek a much smaller and much more primary style of group living.

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[9] Keniston, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

This distaste for residence hall living suggests that students almost intuitively feel certain needs which must be satisfied if they are to achieve optimal development. In a highly structured residence unit, they must repress their emotions behind an even more rigid mask than they are forced to wear in their classes. They want freedom for impulse expression which can come about in a smaller group manifesting mutual trust and respect. They can't find this in dealing with their professors, in student government, or in other formal kinds of campus activities. Hence they search for it in less formal living arrangements.

Evidence from several sources stresses the need of undergraduate students for more freedom, both intellectual and personal, than it has been customary for colleges to grant. Creative college students almost demand the opportunity to be independent and innovative. They say the further they go in college, the more restrictive they feel academic requirements to be. A creative student with a reasonably apparent talent in some field or other wishes to immerse himself in activities encouraging the development of his talent, and he finds course requirements outside his interest virtually meaningless.

Radical students make the same point. At an early age they began to feel restive with requirements and regulations based on reasons they cannot comprehend. Indeed, one of the reasons students move into radical causes is to find the freedom to involve themselves deeply in a subject. They almost intuitively decide that personal development requires deep personal involvement in something. More average students make the same claim. They tolerate requirements and, to them, excessive numbers of courses for the sake of a degree; but they generally don't involve themselves in more than one or two course activities. They select these in the light of their own developmental needs rather than the needs posited by faculty committees or departments.

Students in professional schools make similar choices. Becker showed, for example, that medical students would extract from the medical curriculum those things which they believed would most facilitate their own entry into the practice of a profession.[10] Thus, the aspiring pediatrician, psychiatrist, or internist would treat gross anatomy quite lightly and feel no moral compunction about copying analyses from the notebooks of fellow students aspiring to surgery, rather than going into the cadaver himself. The psychiatrist, knowing that never in his professional career would he need to cut into human flesh and trace nerve endings, saw no reason why he should do it as a student. It is difficult to appraise practically these demands for greater freedom. In part, they may be something artificial, representing no more than symbolic revolt against a substitute parental authority. But so strongly are student statements worded against the oppressiveness of certain kinds of curricular requirements that one is led to the conviction that colleges and universities have been overly prescriptive.

Once again, current research seems to corroborate insights of an earlier time. Charles Eliot, in his arguments for a free elective system, really anticipated the arguments for freedom to make mistakes which students in the 1960s are advancing. These ideas, separated by generations, are so parallel that it may be well to recapitulate Eliot's notions:

> For him, the prescribed curriculum meant routine learning and routine teaching. It produced only an average product, "a gregarious enthusiasm and a unanimous motive." By way of contrast with this, the elective system awakened individual interest and, in so doing, resulted in harder, better work. Thus the whole burden of motivation was shifted from external to internal compulsion. The student's own moral autonomy was developed. This, in Eliot's view, was the only way the effective leaders of the future could be trained. They could only be produced in an atmosphere of freedom . . . . Eliot always saw the elective plan as a true "system," not a "wide-open, miscellaneous bazaar." . . . It presupposed a "well-ordered series of consecutive courses in each large subject of instruction." . . . but he shied away from purposefully arranging electives in groups." Groups of studies, he wrote, were "like ready-made clothing, cut in regular sizes; they never fit any concrete individual."[11]

Compare this with 1968 statements by creative students. Most of these students found their on-campus experience, especially in their last years, to be "a pretty confining grind." One referred to a "deadly routine" in which the upperclassmen traveled in narrower and narrower channels. None of the interviewees spoke of any novelty, challenge, or aesthetic stimulation in the last years' programs. Some students seemed to beat the mundane routine by non-curricular involvements, but generally at a cost to their course work and grades. Several students indicated that they lacked opportunities to participate in the wealth of living and the excitement of learning things of personal interest. To them, college education seemed an enforced detour which kept them from essential perceptual and emotional satisfactions.[12]

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[10] Howard Becker, *et. al, Boys In White* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

[11] John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 109.

Particularly troublesome to interpret are conflict and anxiety among students in highly selective institutions. It begins to appear that high achievement and high rates of personal development are concomitants of a great deal of personal conflict. Among creative students there appears consistently a high level of personal anxiety and major efforts to cope with and live with anxiety. When highly creative individuals are studied in detail, they uniformly testify to great anxiety, even to the point of physical reaction, either just before or during the creative act. Radical students describe intense personal turmoil as they decide to move against the prevailing currents of society. The dynamics of this phenomenon are little understood, but it does appear that conflict, anxiety, and tension at some level are essential for personal development. Whether an institution should deliberately contrive tension-producing situations is, of course, moot; what is clear is that institutions must accept a great deal of tension among students—even when it results in outbursts against the system—as essential for personal development. The college years may not be a particularly euphoric time, but ideally ought to be in retrospect a satisfying time during which students encountered tensions and anxieties within themselves and learned to put them to the service of the developing personality.

Students seem to have sensed a fundamental change in life style in the United States much more readily than have their professors or even their parents. Institutions have failed to recognize that in many respects college students today represent a new kind of adolescence requiring a special kind of response. It is also true, of course, that students have been reluctant to face the fact that they are still not adults in the full sense of that concept.

We can define adolescence as that period between childhood and responsibility for one's self, mate, children, and society. It is, to be sure, a biological phenomenon entailing the advent of puberty; but it is also a cultural crisis of both status and function. Within American middle-class society there has always been some dysfunction between adult prerogatives and adult functions. One may drive a car at 16, kill at 18, drink at 21—all adult acts—but one cannot function as an adult in economic self-sufficiency until around 25. In the past, biological and functioning adulthood were achieved within a short span of time. Puberty came between 12 and 14, end of schooling at 16 or 18, marriage at 19 or 20, franchise at 21, and a full-time job at about the same time. During that five-year period, the characteristics of self-consciousness, exclusive allegiance to peer groups, irresponsible criticism of adult values, and the hiatus state (neither child or adult) could be tolerated and ways worked out within the family to contain extreme manifestations.

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[12] Paul Heist, *The Creative College Student: An Unmet Challenge* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968).

At present, however, a number of forces are operating to extend the period of cultural adolescence. Thus, the very young teenager has achieved economic power, yet in his late 20s still may not be economically responsible for himself. Puberty may come slightly earlier, and the opportunities for killing or marrying occur more frequently, but the *rite de passage*, formally ending education, comes a great deal later. The time span of incomplete adulthood has been extended from perhaps five years to 10 or 15 years. At the same time, institutions other than the family, church, and high school are required to deal with many adolescents. Thus the contemporary university is faced with finding ways of dealing with large numbers of students who have achieved biological and many, if not most, of the prerogatives of adulthood, yet who cannot really be responsible for themselves, their mates, their children, or society in any but limited ways.

Students seem sincerely in search of ways to handle this ambivalent role and are asking the curriculum for insights and their professors for understanding.

These observations can be quickly summarized. College students seek ways to extend or expand their impulse life more adequately to use powers of affection or emotion for total personal development. They demand freedom to explore in ways consistent to them, and are inclined to decry the "rat race" of prerequisites and too many courses. Although they get their greatest satisfactions from the peer group culture and are searching for ways to make themselves independent of their families, they nonetheless search for adequate and appropriate adult role models with whom to identify or test their own emerging feelings of personal identity.

Especially do they look to these role models for help as they move into full adult status. Perhaps the most common goal students choose is greater self-understanding and greater awareness of their own identities. They sense that to move toward self-understanding they must find greater group identification and more powerful ways of relating intimately with other people. Here, students are inclined to use social and athletic activities as better devices for personal development than the formal curriculum or intimate contact with very many teachers.

The developmental period spanning the college years appears to be a tension- and anxiety-laden time, but students do not feel that this need be especially debilitating. They recognize the pain of conflict and would like assistance on their terms in resolving it; they do not judge it as catastrophic. Generally, students do not view the college curriculum as particularly pertinent to them, nor is it judged retrospectively as having made much contribution to their personal development.

Different sorts of students reject the curriculum for different reasons. Creative students find that it keeps them from deep immersion in the varieties of expression appropriate to their talent. Radical students find that the curriculum does not touch the deep problems of society which they view. Female students find that the curriculum intensifies their struggle for appropriate role models; and black students testify that the curriculum is geared to a white middle-class society and is quite irrelevant to the feelings or needs of Negro students. Students who drop out of college for reasons other than manifest lack of ability to cope with the curriculum say that their courses simply do not speak to their perceived concerns.

In addition to consistent findings on the needs and desires of college students in general, there is an emerging collection of observations or hypotheses on the minority who engage in protests of various sorts which should be attended to in curricular terms. Clearly, some of the observations may be distorted and some hypotheses will ultimately be rejected, but this material does provide important substance, if it can be interpreted. Seymour L. Halleck, drawing largely on clinical material, has a number of hypotheses to account for student unrest.[13]

Activists and alienated students interviewed related to the adult generation only with difficulty. Many of them are highly articulate, irreverent, humorless, and relentless in their contempt for what they see as adult hypocrisy. They are highly peer-oriented, and it is their peers rather than their parents whom they judge important in shaping their beliefs. One plausible explanation is that the present generation of students has been reared too permissively, that parents trying to understand their children have neglected to teach and discipline them, thus producing a generation of spoiled, greedy youth. Evidence in support of this notion is that activist and alienated students typically come from liberal, well-educated, professional homes where there is freedom to criticize and question. Frequently, these students attended progressive schools. When they experience discipline, even rational forms of discipline, they tend to react with rage. When demands are not met immediately, they tend to withdraw or wrap themselves in a cloak of despair. Having come from psychologically sophisticated homes, such students are apt to regard background factors as responsible for their aberrant behavior rather than to assume personal responsibility for it.

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[13] Seymour L. Halleck, "Hypotheses about Student Unrest," *Today's Education*, Vol. 56, No. 6 (September, 1968), pp. 22-26.

A related interpretation suggests that the alienated or restless student is a product of an affluent society in the sense that unearned affluence generates restlessness, boredom, and meaninglessness. Having virtually everything one could desire, affluent youth cannot set youthful goals for themselves. A third possibility is that restlessness derives from the very troubled nature of the world in which students of the 1960s grew up. It is a world divided into two military camps, and his own camp needs the student's highly developed skills to win the war, cold or hot. Thus, students have been forced-fed intellectually, and frequently arrive at college partially burnt out. Students generally come to view this ceaseless competition as a form of paranoia fostered by a university which has become an arm of government. These feelings are intensified by the war in Vietnam and its attendant brutality and inequities.

The draft is a particularly villainous element. First, the draft leaves students uncertain as to their future. Secondly, college students do appear to carry a heavy load of guilt over the fact that they are in college rather than in Vietnam, and many students also seem to respond to the deterioration of the quality of life across the nation. Over-population, combined with the pollution of resources and the painful anonymity of bigness, make the overcrowded campuses a particularly appropriate target. Such problems appear of such magnitude that students become convinced that solutions cannot be found through the existing system. A major malfunctioning of society which is intrinsically involved in student protest is, of course, the civil rights movement and the growing commitment to the cause of the Negro American. Not only did the movement show students the worst features of American life, but it developed in them the skills of protest through passive and nonviolent sit-ins and the like.

Still another explanation of why students behave as they do is that they are struggling to find new modes of psychological adaptation to a society which is massively, rapidly, and qualitatively changing. The sheer rate of technological change makes it impossible to predict what life will be like 10 years from now. If this be so, the argument goes, no one knows what values will be viable in a society which cannot be envisioned. If the future cannot be foretold, the wise course is to live existentially in the present.

In a sense the psychological impact of television has been as profound as any recent technological advance. One reason is that television brings unselectively to the eyes of children the vast range of human problems before children are able to really assimilate them. Television acquaints youth with the cynical facts of life at a time when those facts are simply indigestible. Knowledge is communicated so quickly that there is little opportunity to live with myth or self-delusion. The effect has been for youth to acquire a deep skepticism as to the validity of authority, and this has been reinforced as the whole society has turned increasingly to science rather than religion for answers to life's questions.

Kenneth Keniston advanced parallel but somewhat different interpretations of the problems and needs of youth in America.[14]

The sheer rapidity of technological and social change and the expectation of still more innovation affect self-concepts, visions of the future, and how one ties to the symbols of the past. Change has become so much a part of society that it seems to value scientific innovation and technological change without conscious reservation.

Thus, in an unstable and changing world, young people grow up with characteristics puzzling and disturbing to adults. They evidence no deep commitment to adult values and roles, for they see the world into which they are headed as cold, mechanical, abstract, specialized, and emotionally meaningless. They feel forced into detachment and premature cynicism because this changing society seems to offer little that is stable or promising. Subconsciously, students realize that the world of the future is so far different from the one in which they grew up that there are no appropriate role models for their own lives. Thus parents and teachers are judged increasingly useless as role models. This is not rebelliousness, for young people are not rebelling against parents or their generation. Rebellion presupposes that the target of hostility is an active threat. The young, however, see no threat, for they see no possibility that they will ever be like their parents. This is in no sense critical of parents, for, as previously noted, parents of activist college students of the 1960s are liberal, open, permissive, and would have been excellent models for their children. But, in a time when the society is moving toward an unknown station, youth judges the lives and styles of parents as simply of no consequence.

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[14] Kenneth Keniston, "Social Change and Youth in America," ed. Kaoru Yamamoto, *The College Student and His Culture: An Analysis* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1967).

Another affliction of rapid change is the widespread feeling of powerlessness. When the world is viewed as fluid and chaotic, individuals feel themselves victims of impersonal forces which they can seldom understand and never control. It is this feeling of impotence which seems to make students so cynical about the values of work and discipline. If one is pessimistic about ever having the power to affect corporations, government, or universities, then dropping-out makes as much or more sense than does subjecting oneself to fruitless discipline. Since the larger society is seen as not being amenable to control or manipulation, young people retreat into small manageable groups. Students seek intimate personal contact with peers because they can comprehend the significance of a touch, a talk, or a smile, where they cannot comprehend the mutations of the stock market or of foreign policy.

This feeling of powerlessness also seems to account for the decline of political action among college youth. While the press makes painfully clear that some young people are politically concerned, youth still are underrepresented among registered voters, and even activist youth do not have a well-articulated program. Instead of being politically conscious, college students seem to have developed a cult of experience which places the highest value on the maximum possible number of sense experiences. These come from personal interaction with others at an intimate level, from experimentation with drugs, and even from the unusual juxtaposition of fabrics in wearing apparel. This aimlessness is intensified by the fact that formalized rites of initiation into adulthood have been clouded over or removed completely. As noted earlier, adolescence has been so extended as to lose its critical significance as a turning point in life. It has almost become an intuitively discovered replacement for the lost rites of initiation. Youth has developed its own culture, not with the goal of socializing people into the larger society, but as a means for individuals to form their own identities without knowing ultimate adult roles which they might fill.

American youth in the 1960s thus seems to be drifting away from public involvement and social responsibility and toward a world of private and personal satisfactions.

Of course, there are students who do attempt to face society and bring about some change in it. It is impossible to tell the long-term importance of radical youth, but it is possible that radical youth will ultimately set the style for a full generation, and it is just possible that out of the concerns, needs, and desires of militant youth will come insights as to how the collegiate curriculum could be restructured.

Once again, Kenneth Keniston provides comments that express the feelings of radical students. These feelings are clearly expressed in the following statements selected from material quoted by Keniston:[15]

- "One of the things I've learned in the last two years is that you don't need very much to live on. . . .The kind of people who get involved in the Movement are really people who have a strong need for friendship."
- "The politics came after the people. There was always a personal relationship first."
- ". . .I don't have an ideology."
- "I've had a lot of help, because you know there's motion in the Movement. There are people doing things, there are things happening, there are all kinds of exciting people."
- "It just seems to me that what happened was that I saw a different way of relating to people."
- "That kind of thing was in the back of my mind, nagging at me: 'You're not involved, you're not doing anything.' "
- "I don't get upset about sexual things, and I don't get upset about religious things. But I feel that honesty, among yourselves, is necessary. . . .If I let down all my defenses, I would wind up being Billy Graham or Elmer Gantry."
- ". . .After you get back to your apartment, or wherever you live, you see how few you are, and it gets to be very discouraging."
- "I seem to be just moving irrationally into that, using my parents' relationships as a model for my relationships with Judy. . . .That makes me very upset because I consider my Father a failure."
- "I feel I should read more, but I feel that I have worked so long and I'm so exhausted that I just can't."
- "I have developed very well certain abilities, really pushed them to the limit of their development at this stage of my life."

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[15] Keniston, *Young Radicals,* pp. 20-43.

- "I'm looking forward to really trying to explain to [my parents] the kind of things I feel, that I am a very personal embodiment of what they are, what they created in a son, and what they brought me up to be."
- "There are very few academics who see some kind of relationship to what's happening in the world. I don't want to be a scholar, but at some point, I feel a responsibility to bring education to bear on my world."
- "I don't see myself going into the academic world. . . .I don't think I would be happy in it. . . .I don't want to take a job where I would have to 'operate'. I just don't like to get the feeling that I'm all alone and I'm doing something to everybody else."
- "I don't know what I am going to do. I don't think I want to be a full-time politico. . .and I don't see academics as the center of things. . . .On the other hand, I don't think I could become a truck driver. . . .And it's very important for me to live among people I can communicate with."
- "I escaped and got lost in reading, and I enjoyed it for a while. And then started listening to the radio, 'Another fifty thousand troops going to Vietnam,' and I would says, 'What the f——— am I reading this for, I've got to get back into some group.' "
- "One thing that took me a long time to learn is that there are models of marriage and adult life but that they don't work."
- "How do you be an adult in this world?"
- "One thing I found at school was that I never had much sympathy for executive life or suburban life."
- "Who knows what the Movement is going to be like in ten years?"
- "I still feel very proud of the fact that I can cry, that things can really dig me up inside; that I can cry when I'm happy. [After an evening with a friend], I just went upstairs and my eyes filled up, I felt so good. I felt so turned on and I hadn't touched anything all evening. I got so high, so turned on, just being able to do that—it really digs me being able to be happy."

Out of such sentiments, certain yearnings or needs emerge quite clearly. Radical youth is seeking new forms of adulthood dedicated to the betterment of society, but not requiring blind acceptance of the established system. They seek a new approach to the future which avoids fixed tasks and defined lifeworks, a viewpoint which stresses means, not ends. They want new pathways of personal development which will allow the openness of youth and its responsiveness to inner life to last throughout life. They want new values for living that will fill the spiritual emptiness created by material affluence. They are searching for new styles of human interaction which will allow participants to grow in dignity and strength, for they are repelled by the impersonality, cruelty, and dehumanization of modern transactions between people. They want new ways of knowing which will combine intense personal conviction with academic knowledge. They desire new kinds of learning which will maximize the involvement of the intellect with the individual's actual experience rather than divorcing the two. They are searching for new concepts of man in society which acknowledge the unique individuality of each human being, but which also stress social involvement. They seek new ways to apply the radicalism they have experienced. They are searching for new types of social organizations which tend to include rather than to exclude certain groups. Thus, the encompassing feeling towards Negroes. They would like to find a new tactic of political action which would enhance the awareness of those who participate in it. They want new kinds of international relations which will allow men of diverse nations to respect common humanity and cultural uniqueness. And, above all, these radical students are searching for new controls on violence between man and man, society and society, nation and nation. It is this search for new controls which has so emphasized the concept of love in the lives of radical students.

Nonconforming students present still further evidence about the needs and desires of some students which are not held overtly by the larger mass of students. As indicated in the Muscatine Report at Berkeley, these students reject outright many aspects of present-day America, believing that society is controlled by a group which has abandoned the common welfare, and has resorted to manipulating the general public. They sense the hypocrisy in claims which the dominant group makes about freedom, religion, patriotism, and morality, and its condoning slums, racial segregation, migrant farm laborers, and false advertising. They feel that to succeed in the society as it is, one must mask one's real feelings and become an "organization man." They are terrified by their belief that the failure of the individual sense of responsibility, combined with impersonal technology and cybernation, is producing a bureaucratized machine-run society. They say if man is to remain in the world at all, he must halt the computers.

To these students the older and faulty generation is represented most clearly by their parents, who have accepted the system and made their way in it. They are inclined to judge their whole society as decadent and the dominant intellectual traditions sterile.

To these youth the only valid intellectual or artistic statements are being made by folk singers, Negro musicians and *avant-garde* artists and writers. These students are clearly in revolt against the traditional ideals in America, such as the Puritan ethic, individualism, and old-fashioned patriotism. They find individualism in the form of private property evil when it justifies exorbitant wealth, dishonest products and segregated housing. Against these, nonconforming students flaunt sexual and emotional freedom.

Although nonconforming students reject the system, they seem to have a high commitment to form and style. For example, in personal relations the highest mark of style is being "cool"; but playing it cool ultimately seems to deny satisfying personal relationships. So, in a search for genuine experience, students begin to experiment with non-addictive hallucinatory drugs in the hope that, once free of the shackles of reason and logic, they can apprehend truth and become truly creative. There is the desire for instant poetry, instant psychoanalysis, and instant mysticism. Although nonconforming students reject formal ideologies and openly admire anarchism and existentialism, they seldom act as individuals, preferring instead to form groups to organize public acts of protests, petitions, marches, vigils, and ultimately sit-ins and civil disobedience. To join a cause and to form a group is a means of alleviating the loneliness and alienation they experience in their lives. Nonconforming youth is impatient in its search for instant remedies for public and private ills.[16]

"The unconventional student is inordinately sure that his own picture of the world is the correct one. He lacks the perspective necessary for self-criticism and for an appreciation of his opponent's position."[17]

With respect to the university, nonconforming students are caustic in their judgments and radical in their proposed remedies. Each came to college expecting to find a community but discovered that communication with the older generation failed to materialize, and that few of his teachers even knew his name. He discovered that his personal worth was measured by performance on examinations, not in a personal assessment of his work and ideas. Professors turned out to have their own system and to play their own game, in which research is a means for personal advancement rather than a search for truth. Although students had hoped that the humanities and social sciences might be more concerned with human conditions than the natural sciences, these hopes are dashed because the professor's fame derives from publications rather than teaching.

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[16] *Education at Berkeley: Report of the Select Committee on Education* (Berkeley, Calif.: Regents of the University of California, 1966).

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

> In sum, the dissatisfied student finds the university to be just another part of the established order. His alienation from society turns into an alienation from his university. His distrust of the older generation makes it difficult for him to appreciate traditional methods of instruction or the faculty's idea of a good education, especially when some professors do in fact display insouciance in their teaching. The student's view of the university is moulded to a large extent by the same unwillingness to accept imperfection that moulds his general views of our social system.[18]

Underlying student needs, demands, and desires are two critical factors. The first is the general affluence of middle-class white America, existing as it does beside a tradition rooted in Calvinism and the rejection of pleasure. Somehow, both adults and students in American colleges display considerable guilt over "never having had it so good."

Restless students opted for the poverty of the drop-out. Faculty opted for extending the workday and week into times once reserved for recreation. Somehow, the student who can wear old clothes, eat simple fare, and scorn the "fat cats" can ease the guilt that comes from knowing he has had a life of luxury. Equally, the professor who flies at night to avoid losing a day of work, and who carries his "own" work into the weekend, is coping with similar feelings.

This problem of affluence is intensified by the plight of minority groups in America and by the war in Vietnam. There is more than a suspicion that at least part of our present affluence is war-based. Hence, to enjoy affluence is to condone the war, the justice of which is in considerable doubt. The protesting college student may well be compensating for his knowledge that if a war-based economy had not made his parents affluent he might be fighting the war instead of attending college. He knows that police billy-clubs are still safer than Viet Cong grenades.

The moral dilemma of affluent America over the plight of the Negro is, of course, the most divisive force in society. The guilt and grief with which white America mourned the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., is illustrative of the subterranean feeling there before his death. It is not an accident that the student protest derived from the civil rights movement. When that movement ceased to welcome white students, they used other protest activity to palliate the guilt of more than 300 years of injustice.[19]

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

We see, then, from student protest and aspiration, young men and women floundering in a society disjointed by immense change, disaffected with an economic system unconcerned with human welfare. We see youth bent on more freedom, hungry for emotional experiences with their fellows, and insistent on learning and training which will fill their affective needs and educate them to cope with the alarmingly new and altering world around them.

We see this new and demanding generation, but our institutions of higher learning, dedicated to preparation of these young people, appear to look the other way and continue to treat them as if they were going into the world as it was before the conquest of outer space, the surfacing of profound problems of poverty and race, sexual liberation, an Asian war, and a cybernetic attack on individuality.

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[19] Lewis B. Mayhew, "Changing the Balance of Power," *Saturday Review*, August 17, 1968, pp. 48-49, 57-58.

chapter 2

Teaching for Students

Since education actually depends on teachers and their responses to students, the demands for new educational experiences will entail substantial changes in teacher behavior. These changes are likely to be of the same magnitude as those introduced when the colonial college felt the impact of the German university tradition. Before this impact, the prevailing style of education was recitation and rote learning from classical authors. Students would consume a day's class period reciting what they had memorized or orally translating segments of material to prove that they had mastered the assignments. Then, the lecture and seminar methods imported from Germany required different aims and skills from teachers and required a different type of teacher. A moderately well-trained tutor could handle a recitation, but could not function well in the freer discussions of a seminar.

This is not to say that earlier styles of teaching were invalid or irrelevant to educational needs. The recitation system of instruction was highly appropriate at West Point in the early 19th century, for it did insure that every cadet was actively involved in each subject every day. The lecture method was a way for a research professor to present his findings before they were published in less perishable form. Conditions, however, do change, and they have changed sufficiently in the last half of the 20th century to require substantial changes in teacher behavior.

Lecturing, as it is currently done, seems to be less and less necessary because other sources of information are more available. At one time a mathematics professor could believe that, all things considered, it was better to lecture and place his proofs on the blackboard. Now the easy availability of rapid duplicating techniques suggests that the mathematics lecturer might hand students copies of a number of proofs and spend his time explaining the theory behind them. The rapid spread of the paperback book industry with ready anthologies, books of readings, and monographs, and the transmission of information through the mass media all minimize the information function which the formal lecture provided. And even if the professor does need to present orally information not available elsewhere, he can tape-record or videotape his presentation, and students can listen when it is most important to them to hear what the professor has to say.

Several institutions, such as Oakland Community College, the Miramac campus of St. Louis Junior College District, and Oklahoma Christian University, have extensive files of lectures on tape. Students can turn to these tapes at their own convenience, which obviates the need for students and faculty to confront each other three or four times a week for the professor's lecture. This minimized need for lecturing seems especially marked in selective institutions which attract students with high verbal ability who can obtain information more readily than by listening to a professor. When Antioch College, for example, developed its freshman year program, which allowed students to obtain information in whichever of a variety of ways they chose, attendance at lectures fell off drastically—but with no loss in information learned or assimilated.

Then, too, students are caustically critical of the lecturing skills and styles of many of their professors. As one student remarked, "I am sure Professor Blank's World War II experiences are of interest to him and possibly his family, but not to us who are required to hear him speak." The transmission of information through a lecture requires a high sense of syntax and language structure, as well as considerable physical and mental animation. Too frequently the professor offers neither.

Professors in the past have insisted upon a number of requirements, feeling that they should protect students against themselves. Students were required to attend class, in a desire to control students. This control was reluctantly yielded as institutions faced the reality that students might do something other than attend class. Schools then created cut systems. Faculty members have insisted that they should grade so that they could coerce students into doing the necessary homework. This is well illustrated at the University of Chicago, Michigan State University, and the University of South Florida, all three of which at one time maintained a comprehensive examination system which delegated grading to an agency other than the professor. The theory was that if professors did not grade, students and professors could work together in much greater harmony. However, in each of those institutions, professors exerted successful pressure for the right to assign part of the grade as a coercive tool.

In view of current student desires for greater freedom and in view of the fact that many students, especially those in highly selective institutions, have academic aspirations before coming to college, such requirements as grades and class attendance appear increasingly unimportant and even onerous. Even in professional schools the coercive power of grades seems less and less necessary, and several, such as the law school of the University of California at Berkeley, for example, have turned to a simple pass-fail method of assessment.

It should be pointed out that as class attendance and grading techniques are minimized, professors often feel some insecurity and uneasiness at what they consider wrong student decisions. For example, in 1967-68, Wesleyan University abolished all course requirements, allowing each student to select those courses which in his judgment and that of his adviser made most sense. This decision has been accompanied by a drop in enrollment in science courses by non-science major students. This, of course, bothers scientists who believe that a scientifically based society should insure that all future judges, writers, and legislators have some understanding of science. Some have contemplated restoring regulations. Another alternative, of course, is open; and that is to ponder whether or not the science courses as they are currently conducted repel all students except those who must take them for some needed certification. Professors who give up grading and no longer maintain class attendance requirements are disturbed if students do not attend class and are working in what seem to them illogical ways.

But there is enough evidence to show that students can handle freedom and perform in ways equal to their performance under a more coercive system.

Today, teacher-dominated discussions seem no more defensible than teacher persistence in lecturing or establishing prescriptive requirements. In one graduate seminar, the author decided to make only one presentation during the full term, and then to allow each student to report on a major domain of research and collateral efforts. The end-of-seminar assessment indicated that students believed this to be a highly effective means of education, especially since they were assuming the initative in interpreting research findings rather than having the professor impose such interpretations. Here we see that student needs and desires are frequently at variance with those of the professor. If the prosessor structures a discussion, it will proceed in the light of his goals; and while there could be some value in it for students, it appears that shifting more of the initiative to students would do more to help them grow.

College faculties might well examine some of the literature from counseling and psychotherapy which shows the values to an individual of conversations rooted in his concerns rather than the concerns of the therapist. This is not to suggest that classrooms become therapeutic sessions. A patient approaches a therapeutic session with much more acute concerns than he normally will in a classroom. Yet some of the values of nondirective therapy seem consistent with what students expect and would like to get out of their college classes.

There is evidence that students actually do fashion their own curricula and use instructional resources for their own ends, complying with instructor-imposed organization only out of superficial etiquette. The earlier cited Becker study of medical students is strongly indicative of this phenomenon. Also suggestive is the young student who listened many times to a single tape-recording of a professor's lecture, but who did not attend any formal lecture. The student managed to improve the quality of his poetry to his satisfaction, even though the professor felt personally hurt and somewhat resentful when the student was not physically before him.

The increasing age of college students and their assumption of many adult roles, without complete adult status, suggests that the subtle relationships between professor and student also must change. The tendency for professors, even professors in graduate schools, to call their students by their first names has a patronizing air or attitude which seems no longer tenable. Students do want some close relationship with at least a few professors, but they would like to feel more equality and respect than presently exists. Professors undoubtedly gain psychological satisfactions from maintaining a master-disciple relationship with students, with the implication that students are really inferior. But this is not what students want. They want help in becoming fully autonomous individual adults, and they expect to be regarded as respected individuals well along the way in that quest.

The next matter is an ambivalent one. On the one hand it seems clear that students will no longer tolerate institutional or professorial regulation of their personal lives or personal conduct. Thus, what a student wears to class, what he does outside of class, how he conducts himself in the residence hall, and the like, can be of no direct concern to his teachers. This could imply that colleges and universities are moving toward an exclusive interest in the academic or the intellectual and away from any interest in "education of the whole man." And, in the sense of denying rights to regulate, this implication is probably true. However, the full range of personal behavior can open to professorial influence through educational devices, provided, of course, that individual students wish this to happen.

But on the other hand, students are asking that the collegiate experience far transcend a preoccupation with the academic and the intellectual. In the past there has been a tendency for professors to view what happens to students in classrooms, libraries, and laboratories to be the real life, and what happens outside to be a distraction and dilution of what is important. In the past and, to some extent, at present, colleges assign less stature to students' educationally related off-campus activities than classroom work by the simple device of not granting academic credit. Thus, field trips during an interim term or a summer session are tolerated and sometimes provided, but there is reluctance to grant academic credit for them. But the case is gradually being made that participation in political campaigns, mapping an uncharted section of the Cascade Mountains, or organizing economic opportunity programs in impoverished areas is likely to have more educational impact than on-campus courses in political behavior, geography, or sociology. Students are interested in moving back and forth between the academic and what they see as the real world, and professors inevitably must come to accept the educational validity of this interest.

In spite of strong democratic pretensions, there is evidence that colleges and universities in the United States have been and are the most authoritarian, autocratic institutions that society supports. The power of individual professors over individual students has existed almost without challenge since the beginning of higher education. In this country, professors can assign grades on whatever basis they choose; and in the past there has been no appeal open to students. Professors have prevented students from graduating simply because of what the professor felt was contumacious behavior, and this power has been upheld in court. By refusing to accept a doctoral thesis a graduate professor has the power to alter an individual's entire life, and professorial courtesy restrains colleagues from even questioning such actions. Professors have been allowed to decide who could and could not enter their own classes, sometimes through a system of stated prerequisites but frequently on an *ad hominem* basis. All of this was tolerated on the ground that the professor as a professional knew best and could be challenged only by his professional peers.

This power, however, is gradually being eroded through court actions and to an increasing extent through student resistance to professiorial capriciousness. Behind student demands for a pass-fail system of assessment stands the clear awareness of just how whimsical and frequently vindictive the five-point grading system really is. Professors adapting to the new and freer curriculum must assume that arbitrary exercise of power over elements of students' academic life must cease just as institutional power over students' private lives is disappearing.

Much of academic practice has been based on what might be called a psychology of poverty. This point of view holds that each individual's potentialities are limited through genetic or environmental influences, and that an important task of education is to screen out those individuals who had reached their own potentiality. College admissions procedures were and are premised on finding those students who can survive academically, and excluding all others. The use of the normal curve of distribution with a stable percentage of students who will fail is rooted in the same interest in survival. The president of the state university who, when addressing the entering freshman class, told students to look carefully at the persons sitting to their immediate right and left because by the end of the year one of those two would be gone from the institution, was articulating the prevailing belief in the college as a screening agent to remove the unfit. It was, of course, this attitude which led the highly selective institution to be almost completely segregated, because few from the culturally disadvantaged groups in the country—whether they were Puerto Rican, Negro, rural New Englanders, or people from the farms and hamlets in Appalachia—could demonstrate the same potential ability as students with higher cultural backgrounds.

Gradually, institutions have been forced to modify admissions standards, and professors have been led to rethink their stance regarding low student performance.

Indeed, professors in at least a few institutions have taken the position that failing students is as much an indictment of the professor as of the student, and have adopted a policy of issuing no failing grades. Students simply are expected to persist in a course until they have demonstrated an adequate competency or until they have decided to shift to some more congenial study.

Professors will be expected to change their ideas about standards. Before World War II, most tax-supported institutions were open-door in the sense that they were required by law to admit any high school graduate, and most of the private institutions accepted the large majority of candidates who applied for ad-mission. The tremendous increase in the number of potential students after World War II, and the greatly increased interest in the values of higher education, coupled with the lack of space, allowed undergraduate institutions to become more and more selective along the limited dimensions of measured verbal or mathematical aptitude. This allowed prestige institutions to shift from a 1952 or 1953 posture of admitting one out of every two students who applied to a 1965 or 1966 practice of admitting one out of every eight or nine who applied.

However, there is no good evidence that this high selectivity is producing any more effective human beings than did the earlier, less selective, approach. Nevitt Sanford, reflecting on Berkeley, recalls that in the '50s almost anyone who had received a bachelor's degree could be accepted into graduate school, and, once accepted, if he had the perseverance, he could obtain a Ph.D. While some students would run into obstacles on their oral exams or dissertations, the graduate faculty would work with the student, stretch their own notion of standards, and finally pass him. Now, of course, the institution is highly selective, and faculty members talk a great deal about maintaining appropriate standards. But Sanford doubts that those who are now receiving Ph.Ds from this high-pressure condition will be any more able or creative than those produced in the 1940s or 1950s.

Professors adapting to curricula based on developmental needs of students must alter their ideas about standards and, when they are concerned about maintaining standards, faculty must base them on broader considerations than the students' simple ability to succeed in academic work.

It seems clear that institutions must reduce requirements and regulations for students. As this happens, professors will find themselves teaching in something which could resemble a free market situation, where students will have choices. It seems patently clear that if a free elective system with guidance should emerge, faculty members will be forced to respond to competition through some means other than political manipulation within the faculty to insure appropriate enrollments.

As professors ponder changes in teaching styles, they can find suggestions of student expectations in recent studies. Undergraduate students seem to enjoy knowing about and being involved in the professors' own scholarly work. However, they are inclined to reject being forced to listen to professors' reminiscences about their own personal lives. The students in the new freshman-year program at Antioch College, when freed from formal course requirements, tended to stay away from formal lectures and structured classroom activities. However, they would flock to hear a professor talk informally about his own research and to discuss with him the implications for human life deriving from that research.

Of course, several problems emerge if this expressed interest of students is valid. If students are to be involved in this informal association with professors' own scholarship and research, time must be rearranged for this to happen in a natural rather than a contrived way. This would require a reduction in time assigned to formal activities, so that both faculty members and students would have a sufficiently flexible schedule to come together when student needs arose. For instance, a student load might be divided into three parts. To satisfy two of these parts, students would enroll for formal courses. The third part could be satisfied through a variety of informal *ad hoc* experiences varying in length of time and intensity. Similarly, a faculty load might be divided into perhaps four parts: two parts devoted to formal course work, one part for students in informal curricular experiences, and one part for the faculty member's research or scholarship.

Students also seem to be saying that they wish to use the professor as an important resource when they need him, and to be left alone at other times. They say that much of what is accomplished in formal courses could as well be acquired through reading or direct experience, or the rich store of audiovisual or programmed materials. But from time to time they do need direct help and encouragement, and they need to interact with a professor. Students in the Stephens College House Plan—which brought together 100 students and five faculty members pursuing a prescribed series of courses offered in a flexible schedule—testified that the greatest value from the experience came from being able to see their professors in the afternoon when they wished to. Professors, of course, testified that being available was a substantial drain on their time and energies. However, by rearranging the times set for formal classroom work, it was possible to accommodate the faculty members' personal, professional needs, the needs of students for formal experiences, and allow for this casual, informal student-professor contact. Different institutions must approach this matter of flexibility versus structure in different ways, depending on the nature of the institution and its students. A residential college, which by its very nature imposes considerable structure, can be relatively free in modifying formal classroom activities. A commuter institution, which imposes no structure other than curriculum, however, probably cannot be quite so flexible since students appear to need not only freedom, but some structure to give them security for penetrating intellectual activities.

Students also are saying that they would like professors to serve in part as organizers of experiences rather than the prime provider of experiences. Thus, to students, the professor who has spent a great deal of time organizing a syllabus, self-administered tests, audiovisual materials, workable bibliographies, programmed materials for difficult parts of a course, and off-campus experiences is providing better instruction than the professor who gives all of these things in lectures or in discussions.

Now it should be pointed out that not all students can tolerate the freedom to use educational resources at their own volition, and almost all demand greater professorial activity. At the University of Utah Engineering College, for example, several engineering courses were taught by providing students with a number of realistic problems which they were expected to solve in their own ways, using professional help only as they felt they needed it. About half of the students enrolled in these experimental courses were highly pleased and demonstrated through tests that they had acquired the necessary skills and information to master the course. The other half, however, suffered increased anxiety throughout the semester and constantly and frequently asked professors to resume lecturing to give them the needed information for a bachelor's degree in engineering. The same student reactions occur in experiments with what might be called nondirective teaching. When the professor tells a class that it may consider anything which its members wish to and in any ways sensible to them, a portion of the class will fashion a curricular experience which is psychologically related to their needs. Other students, however, feel threatened and insecure at this lack of direction, and become defensive and not infrequently abusive of the instructor.

Theoretically, it should be possible to appraise in advance students who can and cannot adapt to freedom and flexibility. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case in American colleges or universities. The history of professorial neglect of such information as scores of academic aptitude tests does not suggest that the more sophisticated screening along dimensions of personality variables would likely work. Rather, a combination of structured experience and unstructured time might be developed with the proviso that those students fully able to function alone should be allowed to do so. In a formal course, for example, these more adaptive students would feel free to attend class or not and would not be penalized if they chose something other than listening to their teacher.

While students do not seem to want intimate contact with many professors, they testify that they face many critical decisions and need adult help in making them, but they want that adult help to be precisely knowledgeable. Students seem to be saying that they wish to find a professor from whom they could obtain precise information and with whom they could talk over basic questions about curricular choices, future careers, marriage, and their own identity. Repeatedly, they emphasize that they do need a parent surrogate at times, while at other times they want to be independent of this parent-like figure. What they resent is the professor who seeks to exercise all of the prerogatives and powers of parents all of the time. The responsibility of being on call when students want counseling and guidance probably is difficult for a majority of professors to assume, for professors themselves have basic psychological needs. Yet those needs should probably be sacrificed for the needs of students if professors are going to serve in a helping profession. There are, of course, other compensations for this sacrifice.

These several points are well illustrated by a paraphrase of what a number of students said at the National Conference on Student Stress in 1965:

> We don't want protection. We want a chance to think for ourselves about politics and morals, and how we can earn good livings but keep our integrity. What we get is a choice of a profession, with a lot of little packages tied to the thread that leads to medicine or business administration or engineering; and the packages are called philosophy and economics and what have you. They are too seldom geared to us and what we are; too seldom taught by people who want to find out about us; and too seldom informed by our efforts to make our needs known. We don't know how. That's one of the reasons we came to college, to find out, not to be filled up with facts and ideas that other people believe are important.
>
> We need relationships with teachers who will help us face the big, tough hang-ups: Am I a moral pacifist or a coward? Is abortion a humane answer to the problems of unwed motherhood? What has the pill got to do with my answer? Who am I? Where am I? Where am I headed? And do I really want to go there? Is an academic carrer any less sterile than one in business? What are the things that make a society really worth fighting for? . . .[1]

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[1] Edward Joseph Shoben, Jr., *Students, Stress, and the College Experience* (Washington, D.C.: United States National Student Association, May, 1966).

Evidence thus far might be construed to say that students are excessively preoccupied with individualistic concerns, that they are generally almost "loners." Such a conclusion would be unfortunate and untrue. Many students would like to engage in cooperative effort, not only with their peers but with their professors as well. One of the strongest advantages the students at the University of Utah saw in the problems approach to a course in engineereing mentioned earlier was the opportunity to work with faculty in solving problems which were realistic to students. Recent student demands show students want to cooperate with faculty members on problems which students believe to be of concern to both faculty and students. Students are quite enthusiastic about the *ad hoc* sort of course which they and faculty members whom they select can develop. Students are saying that cooperation with mature scholars in solving problems is highly desirable. But, the problems should make psychological sense to students rather than just logical sense to the professor in the light of his training. When faculty members and students are brought together through such structures as a cluster college, a house plan, a team-teaching effort, or the like, the group seems to develop a high *esprit de corps* and to enjoy enhanced development both of students and professors. The good relationships which a few graduate students have with their major professors seem to come from the opportunity for the student and professor to work together on something of interest to both.

This relationship can be terrifying for the professor who feels that only after diligent training in skills, and after following a sequential series of problems, are students qualified to address themselves to big issues of importance to them. Rose K. Goldsen, drawing on years of research at Cornell University, makes this point clearly:

> The best students feel they are not being taken seriously, that they are being relegated to busy work and drudgery whose relevance to any serious educational purpose is by no means clear to them. The best students are talking about how they are alienated from the real intellectual life of the university. They say they want small seminars in their freshman and sophomore years, more personal intellectual interchange with their professors, more participation in curriculum planning and allocation of academic budgets. The best students, especially student leaders, are balking at what they say is irrelevant nonesense in the curriculum.
>
> . . . .
>
> The students are asking for seminars, face-to-face contact with professors, personal attention. It is by no means clear that

> this is the best way to "train them up." (Some professors are at their best in such small seminars, responding to give-and-take; but others are much better delivering a prepared lecture, following an outline, talking clear up to the end of the hour without brooking contradictions or questions from students.) What is significant about the students' demands, and what must be taken seriously, is that they want to be "trained up." They want to be engaged in the professor's serious work, to have his serious attention. They want to be used by him as an academic resource; they want to be put to work.[2]

At the risk of some redundancy, some of the generalizations about new students as presented in the Hazen Foundation Report on students are restated here to recall the background from which these newer expectations of faculty behavior come.

> 1. Students are seeking enduring commitments but are skeptical about the ideologies and orthodoxies that clamor for their loyalty.
> 2. Because of their suspicion about formal ideology, the new students turn to human relationships as the source of most of the purpose and meaning they seek in their lives.
> 3. The contemporary college student feels strongly the need to belong but is profoundly skeptical about most of the organizations he encounters, particularly an organization that claims to offer him an education.
> 4. The new student is generous and idealistic in his own fashion but is frequently fearful that any long-term commitment to social service may destroy his idealism and thwart his freedom.
> 5. The new students, for all their apparent poise and sophistication, are frequently hesitant and uncertain.
> 6. Because of his doubts about himself, about organizations, and the possibility of faith and commitments, the new college student has a tendency to be suspicious and distrustful of the administration, and to a lesser extent, the faculty of his college.
> 7. Students come to college with a great deal of excitement and willingness to do the work demanded of them, but their expectations and performance usually decline very rapidly during the first months of the freshman year.
> 8. Most students apparently expect that the college years will mark the definitive end of their dependence on their parents.[3]

In these student expectations we find some assumptions which could guide college teaching and advising. None of these are particularly new, yet they do depart from the implied postulates upon which much of contemporary college teaching is based.

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[2] Rose K. Goldsen, "High Hopes and Campus Realities," eds. Lawrence E. Dennis and Joseph F. Kauffman, *The College and the Student* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966), pp. 117, 121.

[3] *The Student in Higher Education*, Report of the Committee on the Student in Higher Education (New Haven: The Hazen Foundation, 1968), pp. 20-25.

The first assumes that students attending college have drives and urges which operate toward healthy development, if given opportunity and encouragement and freedom. Although the healthy development may diverge from professorial expectation, it is in the direction of individual autonomy and self-reliance. Too frequently, usual procedures such as regular lectures, attendance requirements, grades, assignments in textbooks, laboratory exercises, and specified dimensions for papers all seem to assume that without such prescriptions students will misuse time and resources and not use the educational opportunities open to them. Contemporary teacher behavior seems to assume that unless students are guided in their learning, under the direct tutelage of the instructor, learning will not take place. Particularly in the sciences and mathematics there is the feeling that unless students proceed sequentially according to the logic which the instructor perceives, it will be impossible for students to understand the theoretical presuppositions of the science or mathematics. But, the argument here presented is that by the time an individual has reached post-adolescence and has gotten into the educational process, he has developmental values which will reinforce biological urges toward healthy development; and that if he has guidance when he needs it and freedom sometimes to flounder and to find consistent interests, he will use appropriate educational and growth opportunities. It is possible to conceive of a number of different sequential entries into mathematics according to individual flairs, styles, or interests. It is possible to conceive of one approach to the physical sciences which attempts first to inculate principles and then later to show application, while another approach might be to enter science directly by reading science materials in the popular press. We know that one student feels the need to attend class daily while another wants to attend perhaps only once or twice during a full semester or even a year.

There is the argument that such a point of view might prevail for students having particularly high aptitude for academic activities, and strong motivation derived from family pressures and background, but that others not so privileged can not be allowed such freedom. Students from professional homes, strongly oriented toward intellectual activities and attending highly selective institutions, might be expected to profit from greater freedom, while students from a relatively low intellectual tradition attending an open-door junior college, and faced with the competitive demands of academic work and a job, needed to support an automobile, could not. While these institutional and student differences do suggest that perhaps different techniques should be employed, the underlying assumption can continue to operate. The Antioch freshman-year program can provide one sort of freedom in a two-week orientation period, and then rely on the students' judgment to select activities which appear worthwhile to them. At Oakland Community College a similar sort of freedom can be allowed by providing students with a weekly motivational session followed by freedom to use the program materials and learning resources available in fully automated classrooms, under the guidance of teacher-proctors. Both of these differ in essence from the style of education which requires students to attempt 15 to 18 classes a week, scheduled symmetrically, with the chief responsibility for assimilating materials resting with the instructor.

A second postulate is that learning is not necessarily logical but rather psychological, and gets direction and energy from the learner rather than the discipline. Such a proposition contends that while a subject or discipline may seem to have an order or logic, fundamentally that order is imposed by a human mind, and that other human minds can impose a different but still effective order. One student might successfully approach the study of a foreign language through first learning grammar, while another could gain equal facility through the more direct method of reading materials having large numbers of cognate words, arriving at grammatical understanding only after he had developed considerable fluency. One student can comprehend the powers of science through probing one science, while another arrives at equal sophistication through browsing broadly in literature about a number of sciences. This is a particularly troublesome postulate for professors to accept if, as so many seem to have, they have as individuals gained satisfactory achievement through a particular mode of inquiry. But each faculty member might be asked to reflect honestly and probingly as to how he managed his own development. If this question were answered, as many different styles would emerge as there were individuals answering the inquiry.

This postulate defends the validity of individual differences in learning. While it is assumed that a direct consideration of individual difference is imperative, we should remember how incomplete knowledge of the psychology of individual differences really is. At present "the liberation of individual potentialities remains largely a hope and a dream, while the networks of communication between the various individual islands are as yet blurred, and our first vague studies of group dynamics are so lacking in a clear communication theory relating to mutual liberation of unconscious dynamic components." [4]

The next postulate is that cognition and emotion are equally valid in the total human being, and that each should be encouraged and cultivated and expanded. There is a strong suspicion that college courses and college teaching have been excessively concerned with rationality and have nearly rejected feeling and affection. Accordingly, courses in the arts are taught historically, with virtually no attention given to emotional response to the arts. Courses in the history of art are judged appropriate, while studio courses are rejected on the grounds that they encourage dilettantism or superficial play. Actually, the testimony from students cries for play and for feeling; but the way the collegiate style has emerged, considerable guilt accompanies students who do give vent to playful or emotional behavior. This view undoubtedly will produce shudders in the orthodox academic man, who will argue that the Academy has such a high responsibility for developing rationality and rational modes of inquiry that even to consider other factors would dilute the quality of education.

Gardner Murphy, however, provides an appropriate response to the extreme rationalist:

> These thoughts suggest the parallel that the nurture of rationality may perhaps lie in other efforts than the sheer encouragement of rational thought; indeed, that the rational may best continue to grow in the instinctive soil in which it was engendered, and that too clear and sterile a surgical separation of thought from its ancestral and parental roots in love and impulse may threaten its viability. And, if this should by chance be true, it would mean that the learner must not be deprived of the riches of his impulse life, and that the *teacher must be a quickener of that impulse life through which thought can grow, indeed, a shaper and molder of impulse into the rationality which comes from a healthy craving for contact with reality.*[5]

A fourth postulate is that much human development takes place through interaction of peers, and that for important learning the student peer culture is and must be of enormously greater force than interaction between the younger and the older. The nature of the growth pattern of the human being makes considerable tension the rule in relations between young people and adults. From infancy on, the adult, capable as he is of granting or withholding from a child affection, love, or even life itself, has the child in a potentially threatening situation. As the child moves from home to school, the teacher takes on many parental attributes. In the presence of a possible threatening adult, the child or youth inhibits much of his natural curiosity for fear of alienating his powerful adversary. It may well be that much of the arid, moribund classroom work one sees in American colleges has its roots in the students' fear and resentment of the adult teacher. When almost all classroom work is conducted in such situations, the student's willingness and ability to learn may atrophy. Again, perhaps a wise and prudent blending of situations in which adults are present with situations where they are not present may increase learning possibilities in collegiate education. Adults cannot abdicate the classroom, because there are times when the students want and need their presence. On the other hand, there are important times when adults are really in the way. There really is a generation gap and this generation gap can be usefully exploited for educational purposes.

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[4] Gardner Murphy, *Freeing Intelligence Through Teaching* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 44.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The corollary to this postulate is the notion that no one can really learn something until he has tried to teach it to someone else. Allowing or even contriving situations in which students teach each other may be the most important educational service a teacher can render his students. Such teaching-learning interaction among peers shows that cooperation and collaboration are good. Yet much collegiate educational practice discourages cooperation or even penalizes it. Each student is expected to do his own laboratory work and prepare his own papers, although it is at least conceivable that greater educational gains would come from cooperatively solving problems or, indeed, cooperatively taking examinations.

A last postulate is that individuals go through distinguishable stages of development and that educational techniques and processes must match developmental needs as they arise or the techniques and processes will be relatively fruitless. Nevitt Sanford has handsomely expressed this postulate:

> The idea of a "stage" of development rests upon a conception of a *course* of development, that is to say, an order of events defining progress from lower to higher levels of development. A high level of development in personality is characterized chiefly by complexity and by wholeness. It is expressed in a high degree of *differentiation*, that is, a large number of different parts having different and specialized functions, and in a high degree of *integration*, that is, a state of affairs in which

> communication among parts is great enough so that the different parts may, without losing their essential identity, become organiized into larger wholes in order to serve the larger purposes of the person. Using the terms introduced above to stand for the major systems of the personality, we may say that in the highly developed person there is a rich and varied impulse life, many different impulses having now found various modes of expression; conscience has been broadened and refined in the sense that it is sensitive to many different kinds of moral issues; and it is enlightened and individualized; it has been brought under the sway of the ego's processes and so operates in accord with the person's best thought and judgment; the ego's responsiveness to multitudinous aspects of the natural, social, and cultural environments is matched by the diversity of its interrelated sensibilities and adaptive capacities; although it judges events and controls actions in accord with reality, it remains in close enough touch with impulses—the deeper sources of emotion and will—so that there is freedom of imagination and an enduring capacity to be fully alive. This highly developed structure has a fundamental stability which is expressed in consistency of behavior over time; it underlies the individual's sense of direction, his independence of thought and action, and his capacity to make and carry out commitments to others and to himself. But the structure is not fixed once and for all, nor is the consistency of behavior absolute; the highly developed individual is always open to new experience, and capable of further learning; his stability is fundamental in the sense that he can go on developing while remaining essentially himself.[6]

Instructors who would bring a new and revitalized curriculum to their students must change their teaching and advising practices from what appears to be conventional or orthodox. But this is really not asking for something new; rather it is asking that professors practice what great teachers have always practiced.

Students recall gratefully, and often with wonder, the traits of great teachers—affection and respect for students' imagination, intellectual freshness and personal charm.[7]

Helen Keller, talking of her teacher, Ann Mansfield Sullivan, describes their first encounter:

> I felt approaching footsteps, I stretched out my hand as I supposed it to be my mother; someone took it and I was caught up close in the arms of her who had come to reveal all things to me and more than all things else, to love me.

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[6] Nevitt Sanford, ed., *The American College* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 257-258.

[7] These vignettes are taken from Houston Peterson, editor, *Great Teachers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1946).

John Stuart Mill received most of his education from his father, and describes another technique demanded by newer curricula:

> From 1810 to the end of 1813 we were living in Newington Green, then an almost rustic neighborhood. My father's health required considerable and constant exercise, and he walked habitually before breakfast, generally in the green lanes toward Hornsey. In these walks I always accompanied him, and with my earliest recollections of green fields and wild flowers is mingled that of the account I gave him daily of what I had read the day before. To the best of my remembrance this was a voluntary rather than a prescribed exercise.

And James William Crabtree's recollection shows that effective teachers seek to use the idiom of their students:

> Miss Moore learned all she could about the animals, birds, and snakes common to that timbered country in order to talk our language better, and in order to tell us more than we knew of the fox, the raccoon and the hoot owl. She questioned us and our parents about them. She let us bring our rabbits, raccoons and other pets to school on special occasions.

The genius of Mark Hopkins is revealed in this description of his teaching:

> With some qualifications and limitations it may be called a process of rediscovery. It has a remote kinship with the theories of Rousseau and Herbert Spencer who would discard books, set aside history, which records the experience of the past, assume that everything is new, that what is behind us is not worthy of our attention, and attempt to solve the riddle of the universe by retracing anew the experiences of humanity.

Another teacher rejected sterile logic and terminology:

> Charles Edward Garman taught a course in logic, not in the formal sense, not the technique of logic, but the practical application of logical methods. In outline his system was simple —the wiping out of preconceived ideas, the search for data, the weighing of evidence, and the groping for conclusions if such were to be found. It is not the conclusions arrived at that remain in the memory, nor yet the material of the course, but the inductive method of reasoning; that, and the peculiar inspiration that must have been largely personal and magnetic.

The power of personality seems frequently of much greater import as is revealed in a description of Francis Barton Gummere:

> But what we learned from him lay in the very charm of his personality. It was a spell that no one in his classroom could escape. It shone from his sparkling eye; it spoke in his ir-

> resistible humor; it moved in every line of that well-loved face; in his characteristic gesture of leaning forward, and tilting his head a little to one side as he listened patiently to whatever juvenile surmises we stammered to express.

Woodrow Wilson's personality also seems to have left its mark:

> So it was that Woodrow Wilson opened the doors of an ampler life to us. As for what he actually taught, it was the inspiration of his personality rather than what he actually taught that caused our hearts to burn within us while he talked with us by the way. His was precisely the type of scholarship which would have won me to the man. Forty years ago this country was swept by the craze for the German type of dry-as-dust scholarship. It was about the time that kiln-dried historical students were toppling Macaulay from his pedestal and enthroning the dreary and meticulous Stubbs in his stead. Let us be thankful that, according to the precepts of the day, Professor Wilson did not undertake an analysis of the function of the Carolingian mayors of the palace or delve into the genealogies of the Hittite kings.

Having students experience life itself rather than book-contained distillates of life seems to have characterized the teaching of Louis Agassiz:

> When I sat me down before my tin pan, Agassiz brought me a small fish, placing it before me with the rather stern requirement that I should study it but should on no account talk to anyone concerning it, nor read anything related to fishes until I had his permission to do so. To my inquiry, "What shall I do" he said in effect, "Find out what you can without damaging the specimen. When I think you have done the work I will question you."

It is obvious that the main ingredient of vivid new experiences students seek is teachers of such outlook and talent as these memorable ones. Such teachers have always been and will always be in the heart of good education.

chapter 3

Collegiate Structure and Faculty Power

Much student discontent with the educational experiences they receive or fail to receive seems to come from the malfunctioning of elements of the organization and administration of American higher education.

Collegiate organization in American colleges and universities has, for the most part, developed incrementally from historical accidents. The primacy of the president and board of trustees seems to have evolved out of frontier conditions where colonial society did not include a large group of trained and respected professors. Instruction was carried on by tutors who were not presumed to have the ability nor inclination to govern an institution. The departmental system for the control of the curriculum and research, even in the undergraduate college, appears to be an importation from the German university grafted onto the colonial-style undergraduate college. The expanded administrative bureaucracy, including titles assigned to positions, probably imitates organizational ideas of business corporations.

Such a patchwork structure functioned fairly well, so long as individual institutions and the system of higher education in America were relatively static and relatively unimportant in the economy and in the general organization of the society.

However, from the end of World War II, the enormous expansion of research in higher education, the equally great expansion in numbers of students in higher education, and the even greater escalation of cost of education put such stress on the old system of governance that institutions began to fail to deliver the educational services their clientele demanded. Close analysis of expressions of student discontent and of students' educational needs and demands reveals by implication a number of structural weaknesses or failings. These are emphasized because almost invariably when an institution discovers serious curricular failings, the fault is found to be a malfunctioning of the administrative and organizational structure.

First among serious problems is the departmental system for the control of faculty appointment, curriculum, and, in pace-setting institutions, funding. Departments in large or small institutions seek to pattern themselves after prestigious research-laden universities. In those institutions the expansion of a domain of research and scholarship dictate staffing, and the curriculum is created to serve the research interests of faculty rather than special developmental needs of students. Large undergraduate enrollments in so-called service courses provide the subsidy, either through tuition in private institutions or appropriations based on population figures in public institutions, for the smaller research-dominated seminars in the graduate school. The department is the bastion behind which faculty members can complete their professionalization with their own research and scholarly concerns. As outside funding for faculty research becomes available, the department can maintain a financial power balance almost in competition with financial power of the total institution. Through this independent financial power, the department can attract and maintain the loyalties of individual faculty members even at jeopardy to the institution as a whole.

This conflict of interest between the department and the institution of which it is a part is revealed by the differing views of federal support of higher education found within a given institution. Departmental chairmen are not much interested in direct institutional grants placed at the disposal of the central administration, preferring instead the project type of support which allocates funds to those departments able to mount successful research undertakings. Organisms resembling feudal baronies have arisen, with sufficient power to oppose any efforts of central administration to reform the educational mission of an institution.

In one state college, for example, departments have gained such complete control over both permanent and part-time appointments that the nominal academic leaders of the institution are powerless to appoint people who might have a broader educational interest than promotion of the departmental discipline. The president of a Texas private institution almost in desperation created a separate university college with its own dean and budget, to force departments to give some attention to the educational needs of undergraduate students. The magnitude of his failure is demonstrated by the fact that within two years the university college had to content itself with part-time or under-qualified staff, since the departments were unwilling to spare their senior scholars for service to undergraduate students. Clark Kerr has outlined the severity of this matter when he judges that the university president is no longer a leader but rather is a mediator in the labor relations sense of that word.

Both an outgrowth and a cause of the departmental system is the reward system which operates most visibly in complex, research-preoccupied institutions, and which lesser breeds of institutions seek to emulate. This system, described by the aphorism "publish or perish," provides the greatest rewards of status and financial well-being. Those faculty members productive of research and conspicuous on the national academic and governmental scenes reap these rewards. Research contracts relieve professors of allegiance to their institutions, and consultation and participation in national organizations provides faculty members the security to know that if their own interests are not met at one institution, they will be at another. In spite of lip service to the importance of teaching, especially in primarily teaching institutions, publications, size of research contracts, and off-campus distinction rather than on-campus service to students (especially undergraduate students) determine promotions and salary raises.

"Any faculty member recommended for promotion exclusively on the basis of teaching ability will be automatically judged inadequate for this institution," said the chief academic officer of a major university. At the same university, during a meeting of full professors to consider promotions of colleagues, an individual well regarded for his skills as a teacher, his wisdom as a counselor, and his willingness to expend his energies in helping doctoral students with their dissertations was rejected for promotion because his list of publications was less than the norm established for that university.

In American colleges, graduate and professional schools were grafted onto the undergraduate college and, for a time, the sheer demands of undergraduate education allowed these two styles of work to exist fairly peacefully together. However, particularly since World War II—which brought both increases in research funds to institutions and demands for graduate and professionally trained manpower—the graduate school has moved into ascendancy and has placed the needs of graduate education ahead of the undergraduate sector. Teaching graduate students has come to be more highly regarded than teaching undergraduate students, and energies of senior professors are reserved for that work, leaving to less qualified persons the instruction of undergraduates, particularly in the first two years. So highly regarded is graduate education that something like a third of the private liberal arts colleges in the

United States have begun to offer graduate work so they can compete with universities for the recruitment of new faculty members. Many a well-trained young Ph.D. simply will not accept an appointment to only teach undergraduate students, since more is spent on graduate instruction than on undergraduate instruction. Scarce resources are redirected from the service of undergraduates to graduate and post-graduate professional students.

Although not technically a matter of structure or organization, the system of professional ethics which governs the styles of American college professors is closely related to the role of scholar or research worker. There is scarcely a statement for the obligations of the professor as a helping professional seeking to encourage development of late-adolescent human beings. The concepts of academic freedom and permanent tenure are essentially artifacts designed to give a professional worker in an hierarchically organized institution entrepreneurial freedoms similar to those of the classic professions of law and medicine. Under the existing system of ethics, the professor's "own work" is judged to be of fundamentally greater significance than service to his students.

With these developments has evolved a bifurcated view of human nature which holds that the intellectual side of a student is of concern to professors operating within departments, but that all other facets of human personality should properly be relegated to someone else. And two systems of administration have grown up which frequently coexist in almost a cold war climate. The dean of students and such subordinates as counselors, directors of activities, and residence hall supervisors concern themselves with matters of less importance than those which preoccupy professors, department heads, and academic deans. This replaces the concern with the total student which the colonial college tutor or the pre-World War II liberal arts professor presumed to be his proper job. We have a cadre of specialists with no one striving for fully integrated development of a maturing adult.

One institution recently tried to recreate the role of someone concerned not only with academic interests of students but their personal problems as well through a group of faculty proctors, each of whom would serve 12 to 15 students in a variety of professional capacities. Within a year after the inauguration of this system, it became almost impossible to staff these faculty positions because academic faculty members were quite willing to provide academic advising but were unwilling to involve themselves in the more emotional business of personal and affective needs of students. Nor were academic faculty members willing to tolerate student personnel officers providing academic advisement. As stated earlier, student testimony indicates that they seek some mature adult professional with whom they can relate regarding the totality of their concerns during the developmental college years. Yet they find no one within the collegiate structure who is willing to assume such a role.

It should be indicated that these generalizations do not apply to all institutions. There are several of the so-called experimental institutions, such as Bennington College, Sarah Lawrence College, and Stephens College, which have historically maintained the integrity of counseling and advising in both academic and non-academics matters. These institutions seem to have exerted a tremendous impact on their students' lives. But, as a rule,bifurcation rather than integration has increasingly characterized most institutions.

The admissions process, as it has evolved, particularly with the growing scarcity of spaces in colleges, has emphasized a distorted view of human ability and has exerted a generally unhealthy pressure on students, their parents, and the institutions themselves. As long as there was room for all who wished to attend college, institutions used the simple criterion of whether or not the student had the intellectual and character traits needed to survive. However, as competition for space increased, institutions became more and more selective, demanding high academic aptitude established by prior performance in secondary schools and by tests designed to measure this abstraction. High school students then began to bend their efforts not to full human development but to successful performance on the scholastic aptitude test and to clear demonstration that they had taken "solid subjects" in high school rather than those which conceivably could have added cubits to their own total development. This drift toward high selectivity has enabled some institutions to limit enrollments to students graduating in the upper one to five percent of a high school graduating class. And smaller, less competitive institutions have begun to follow their example.

There is no evidence, however, that the top one or five percent of high school graduates, as determined by academic performance, are more likely to develop into good human beings than those who perform at lower levels. Indeed, it seems likely that some institutions might be screening out highly productive humans without whose services society would be substantially poorer. The three 20th century American presidents who graduated from Harvard College would probably be barred from entry to that institution by standards of admissions imposed in the 1960s.

The logical outcome of all of this is that each level of education has become more of a screening process or a substantial hurdle to be overcome, than a feasible and compatible program of education geared to humans at a given stage in their development. Thus, high school performance at a high level is judged of worth primarily to safeguard entry into the proper college. Undergraduate achievement is inspired by the requirements of the graduate school, and the graduate school performance is dominated by the desire to enter a profession at the highest status possible.

This high selectivity is manifest in the grading system. Grades determine subsequent status in various levels of schooling; hence, students devote their energies to securing high grades.[1] Even when institutions allow some pass-fail work, students are inclined to exert most effort in courses requiring grades, for it is the number of A's which really pays off.

Illustrative is an experiment at Ohio University called Programmed Instruction, which allowed students to accelerate work in either engineering or education. Students who earned a grade of "B" were not allowed to raise that grade, so more academically capable students would refuse the opportunities to accelerate simply in order to insure that the final grade was an "A."

The preoccupation with grades would not be bad if it could be established that grades do measure important outcomes of education. However, as has been indicated, grades seem primarily predictive of future grades. Thus the certifying function of colleges and universities has developed the malignancy of a preoccupation with letter grades. It is against this malignancy that some of the most potent student protest has been directed.

Although there are other organizational weaknesses and failings of considerable relevance to the curriculum—the split in management of residence halls between the business side and the program side; the increasing impersonality of the registration process, which leaves students feeling as though they were IBM cards; the rise in tuition without noticeable increases in services to undergraduates; and the like—only one further malfunctioning need be described in detail to outline the parameters of the problem. That is the failure of educational leadership.

In earlier times, the president was presumed to be responsible for exerting educational leadership and for encouraging innovation. Historically important innovations, such as the free elective system, lecture and seminar instruction, and programs of general education, were products of fertile presidential minds.

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[1] Howard S. Becker, *et. al., Making the Grade* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968).

As institutions have become more complex, however, presidential energies have been directed to matters other than education. Increasingly, presidents must spend most of their time off-campus raising funds from private or legislative sources, cultivating philanthropic and federal contacts, and attending to the investments and physical plant expansion of multi-million-dollar corporations. This holds true for the smaller as well as larger institutions.

Thus far, no other agency has appeared with the power or concern to exert consistent educational leadership. Faculty members operating through departments take much too narrow a view for broad leadership. Board members can spend only a limited number of days on institutional concerns, and the president is preoccupied elsewhere. Until this leadership arises, it is not likely that any broad-scale curricular reform will take place.

It is apparent that a revised administrative and organizational structure for institutions of higher education is essential for curricular reform. It is possible to visualize revised structures if some principles and guidelines can be developed. In one sense, the obverse of the weaknesses just noted can serve as guidelines. Thus, some agency must assume responsibility for broad educational leadership. In some way or other, the drift toward departmentalism and preoccupation with graduate education must be checked if the needs of undergraduate students are to be accommodated. And some less pressure-laden techniques for admissions or assessment must be found if a more healthy educational climate is to exist. Several other quite obvious guidelines suggest themselves.

A collegiate system must be developed which places the student and his needs first rather than focusing on academic subjects. In some way or other the point of view must be developed that subjects in the undergraduate curriculum are simply techniques or instruments to facilitate human development rather than things of intrinsic value themselves. Students testify that the curriculum as it currently operates is not really relevant nor does it facilitate their personal development. Yet the curriculum is the resource upon which the institution relies to accomplish its educational mission. Not only should the student and his needs be made the primary aim, but curricula should be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the multiplicity of needs of thousands of individual students. The late James Madison Wood remarked that for a school of 2,000 students there should be 2,000 curricula, each tailored to the unique needs of an individual human being. Charles Eliot, in urging the free elective system, was seeking the same end, relying on each student to select from a variety of offerings those elements he most required. However, the free elective system, as it expanded, left out an essential ingredient—adequate counseling and guidance to help students make reasonable choices.

An organization is also necessary which is free enough to allow people not only to succeed, but also to fail. The entire range of activities—regularly scheduled classes, frequently administered tests, definitely prescribed prerequisites, class attendance policies, and other academic requirements—exist to insure against possible failure. Class attendance is deemed necessary on the assumption that students will "goof off" if left to their own devices. In some way or other the potentiality of personal failure, and the fact that human beings develop in part as a result of facing tension and conflict, need to be accepted.

College professors possess a wide range of highly developed talents which could be of enormous benefit to students if those talents were offered in ways which make sense to students. Unfortunately, because of departmentalism and preoccupation with subjects, professors are encouraged to expose their talents on their own terms rather than on those of students. Thus, it is most convenient for a professor of history to meet a class three hours a week and to demonstrate his expertise. But for many students a more profitable approach would involve the freedom for them to go to the professor only when they needed particular assistance. Reasonably sophisticated college students can obtain information much more efficiently by reading a book.

Professors have adopted their style of behavior in response to their own personal needs. The professor lecturing about a subject which interests him is satisfying himself, as is the professor who visualizes himself as a master, and his students as disciples. The professor who seeks to dominate a class from the lecture podium, and the professor who gains a paternalistic pleasure from addressing students by their given names also are revealing quite basic individual needs. These clearly must be recognized and accommodated, but satisfaction of professorial needs may be antithetical to the equally valid needs of students. If professors are to serve as members of a helping profession, some of their own needs must be sacrificed, with some form of compensation for this sacrifice.

Modification of the reward system might be one way. Another possibility is to provide parallel systems of administration. One system would continue on in its present management function, setting institutional goals and maintaining normative standards, while the other would be available to render help, without sanction or appraisal, to faculty members who needed it. Thus there could be an academic dean serving the management role and a parallel dean available when faculty members required his assistance. That assistance could be helping perfect proposals, listening as the faculty member probed his own personal problem, or providing advice on how to relate better with students as the professor assumed a new and unaccustomed role.

Also needed is a reward system which can differentiate, without invidium, among the various interests and skills of professors. Not all are great or even adequate lecturers, yet the present system of organization almost requires lecturing because all faculty members hold teaching appointments. Not all professors have research talents, yet the present reward system places a premium on publications, no matter how poor! In some way or other, a pluralistic reward system must be developed within an institution so that the talented lecturer, counselor, scholar, discussion leader, or consultant to society may be valued for his own unique contributions. Until such a system is devised, professors with no sense of writing style will feel constrained to write, no matter how tortuously; and professors ideally suited to be tutors will feel constrained to conserve their own time through formal lectures.

Just as a more adequate system must distinguish between individual human talents and traits, so the system must distinguish in some rational way between the various subjects in the curriculum. It is possible to visualize a structure which allows or even forces different subjects to be used for different purposes.

With the drift toward professionalization of faculty members, with a focus on subjects or disciplines rather than on the helping mission, we need a system, really, which protects people against themselves. Bureaucratic structures and procedures could be created which would retard or block tendencies springing from the subject-matter professionalization of faculty members. Thus, a limit on the number of courses departments might offer could slow the proliferation of offerings beyond the needs of undergraduate students. Requiring a periodic wholesale review and revision of the curriculum could prevent the entrenchment of archaic offerings. Road blocks could make the all too common transition of a course from independent study, to independent study in groups, to formal course organization much more difficult. The Bill of Rights of the American Constitution was created in part to protect people against the oppressive and lethal expansion of quite human tendencies. In some way or other, oppressive and lethal academic tendencies must be exposed and suitable procedures created to minimize them.

Because primary group relationships seem so important in student development, a system is necessary which will provide for groupings of smaller numbers of people. We frequently assume that departmental majors among graduate students form a subculture of value to individuals, but this does not seem to hold true for undergraduates—especially those in large, complex institutions. Whether a revised grouping of students takes the form of a team-teaching subgroup; a cluster college; or a small association of freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors will, of course, depend on institutional history and tradition. The point is, the administrative and organizational structure must provide for these groupings regardless of the inconvenience to the institution's bureaucracy.

Collegiate institutions have begun to accumulate considerable information about individual students. There are high school records, admissions test scores, placement test scores, clinical judgments about individual students, and, of course, academic achievement data of various sorts. Some of this information approaches the validity and reliability of information obtained about medical patients. For example, some attitude test scores are more reliable than standard measures of blood pressure; and the potentialities of even more refined diagnostic and prognostic measures are already visible. Yet professors typically do not use existing information in dealing with individual students. Professors rarely seek out placement test scores and the like, either because of their own disinclination to use them, or because the specialists, suspicious of possible misuse, will not allow professors access to these data. If the undergraduate college is truly to be a source of professional help to undergraduate students, it must provide easy access to data on individual students. Unless collegiate organization is improved through better record-keeping and dissemination of information about students to faculty members, it seems fruitless to accumulate even more data.

Another kind of intelligence is needed, such as that in the entrepreneurial professions like law, medicine, or dentistry. The views and feelings of clients are made known as they seek or reject the service of the practitioner. The college professor, however, is protected in his institutional setting against the operation of such a free market. Students attend his institution because of proximity, cost, family loyalty, or because a particular program is offered. Once enrolled, the student becomes a captive client for whatever practitioners the institution wishes to expose him to. In some way or other, an administrative system must be devised which will establish clear and open channels so that the opinions of the clients (students) are regularly and pointedly brought to the attention of the practitioner (professor). This will not be accomplished unless the administration provides for it and solicitation of "client opinion" becomes normal conduct.

Students require individual attention from some professional person to their own personal interests and concerns. Yet the way professorial resources are deployed, personal attention is almost precluded. Consider an institution of 8,000 students, with the tradition that the personal concerns of students are the responsibility of the 20 counselors in the counseling center. More than perfunctory attention to a few students is impossible with such a paucity of counselors.

A few institutions have developed different ways of deploying faculty resources, notably Stephens College, where every faculty member and professional administrator assumes counseling and advising responsibilities for a group of eight to 12 students. Each adviser is expected to deal with academic, career, and emotional problems, and has some training to qualify him to do so. This arrangement rests on the principle that the student-faculty ratio, which runs from nine to one, to 20 to one, provides an opportunity for personal interaction between students and faculty members.

Some of these suggestions for a more efficient and flexible administration and organization are realistic, while others might seem Utopian. However, none can be achieved fully until a number of issues are resolved. The first of these relates to the purposes of the undergraduate college.

There are several viewpoints opposing the establishment or re-establishment of goals for undergraduate education. One, enunciated by Jacques Barzun, holds that the undergraduate college is either dead or dying, with its previous functions now performed by the secondary schools and graduate schools. Another view holds that the essential role of the undergraduate college is to prepare students for graduate training or post-baccalaureate professional training. However, the realities of American life, which include an extension of pre-adult school life to the mid- or late twenties, and the developmental needs of people in the age group attending college, suggest that some formal educational effort should be made specifically for that age group. The 17- or 18-year-old is well on his way toward sociological and biological adulthood and is striving toward psychological and economic adulthood. He is in the process of discovering his emerging adult identity, and in developing his full cognitive and emotional powers. He is making crucial decisions which will determine his total adult development, and he needs help in doing so. If an institution recognizes the validity of such assistance to him, there are curricular, instructional, and advising techniques available to achieve this developmental goal.

However, for an institution to accept such a goal will mean rejecting other possible uses of resources. The predominantly undergraduate institution should refrain from extensive involvement in graduate training or continuing education if it is serious in its aim to make its undergraduate effort effective. The undergraduate colleges of complex institutions should deny the primary goal of feeding students into their own graduate and professional schools. Rather, they should let that flow happen almost as serendipity derivative of rich undergraduate experience.

Somehow or other, the issue of the professionalization of faculty along subject or disciplinary lines must be faced and dealt with if the needs of undergraduate students are to be met.

The post-World War II climate has allowed faculties, particularly in complex prestige institutions, to become so professionalized as to approach syndicalism—so that the needs and ambitions of the members of the guild take precedence over all other concerns. The professoriat has become self-selecting, self-evaluating, and feels it has the right to establish its own activities and priorities—which have increasingly been the faculty members' research, consulting, or service efforts. Professionalization, in a broad sense of that word, can be viewed as desirable; but in the undergraduate college the professionalization should concentrate on the needs and desires of undergraduate students. The ethics and the socialization within the profession, as has been previously stressed, also should be determined by that focus. The interests and needs of students approximate much more closely the concerns of collegiate administrators than the concerns of faculty. For a curriculum to be created with the needs of students in mind, this tendency should be modified so that the administration and faculty are equally concerned with the development of late-adolescent students.

A third issue is that of faculty autonomy. An argument can be advanced that a professional faculty should be responsible for its own membership, the substance of the curriculum, the conditions of student entrance and exit at the institution, and broad policy regarding student life generally. However, these prerogatives should be tempered by equally potent prerogatives for other agencies which take a broader view of the mission and goals of the institution.

Some version of a corporate faculty, shared responsibility and more cooperative governance seems necessary, with financial authority and executive responsibility assigned to central administration. This arrangement, properly used, can stimulate creative faculty thought about its own membership and curricula which that membership create. The issue becomes especially formidable when faculties seek more than shared responsibility, and actually aspire to hegemony over the entire institution in order to exercise that authority for the furtherance of faculty interest. (Perhaps this surge towards complete control is in compensation for decades during which central administration ruled institutions autocratically, arbitrarily, and without adequate recognition of the professional nature of professorial duties and responsibilities. Be that as it may, supreme administrative power in all save limited numbers of junior colleges, former teachers colleges, and some church-related liberal arts colleges has been terminated.) To resolve the issue, effective ways must be found to equally curtail unbridled faculty power.

Another major issue calls for a definition of what excellence means. There can be no quarrel with the idea that every institution should aspire to excellence, but there can be solid questions raised if all institutions aspire to the same sort of "excellence"—an excellence characterized by increased selectivity and increased academic rigor in verbal and quantitative styles of reasoning. It should be possible for an institution to aim at the education of second- or third-chance students, and to do so as excellently as does the institution which concentrates on the most highly talented potential academicians. It should be possible for a junior college to strive for excellence in the training of technicians without feeling inferior to the medical school which strives for similar levels of achievement in a different domain.

Unfortunately, when institutions do embark on a quest of excellence, they are likely to choose the more limited concept. Emerging state colleges and state universities want to achieve the same sorts of excellence that the senior state universities and private universities have achieved, with graduate and professional work and research representing pinnacles of success. When liberal arts colleges quest for excellence, they see its culmination in a high proportion of students who "go on" to graduate school, and in higher and higher scholastic aptitude test scores of entering college students. David Riesman has characterized this upward mobility as a group of Avises seeking to become Hertzes. A more healthy metaphor would be for the Avises to become outstanding Avises and nothing more.

2

chapter 4

The Rigid Curriculum

The organization of the undergraduate curriculum and the many rules governing it have grown up without any overall rationale. Studies about college students and their criticisms of curriculum show that reforms are imperative. The contrast between professorial ideals and student versions of Utopia is marked.

The largest number of books about higher education are written by academicians who describe educational ideals in theoretical and philosophic terms. Most of them hold traditional academic viewpoints sharply opposed to new student demands for freer, more varied, and realistic educational experiences.

Elton Trueblood, in his book *The Idea of a College,* argues for faculty-imposed curriculum on the grounds that most 18-year-olds arriving at college are neither sufficiently educated nor experienced to choose a curriculum. He recommends "a combination of limited electives and increasing concentration in one field" near the end of college as "a more ideal curriculum." He also advocates, with "good psychological reason," that technical subjects should come first and "humanizing studies" later.

An even more alien voice for students seeking change is Leo Strauss.[1] Strauss describes liberal education as "the necessary endeavor to found an aristocracy within democratic mass society," and says it aims at producing "a cultured human being" who has studied "the great books which the greatest minds have left behind."

Such education, he writes, "will always remain the obligation and the privilege of a minority" which will remind "those members of a mass democracy who have ears to hear, of human greatness." It is, he says, the "counter-poison to mass culture."

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[1] Leo Strauss, "Liberal Education and Mass Democracy," ed., Robert A. Goldwin, *Higher Education and Modern Democracy,* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1967).

Russell Kirk, in *The Intemperate Professor,* declares that "the college should return to a curriculum emphasizing classical literature, languages, moral philosophy, history, the pure sciences, logic, rhetoric, and religious knowledge." Colleges should reject "survey courses, general education and similar substitutes for real intellectual discipline" because this "smattering . . . produces the little learning which is a dangerous thing." Kirk defines the aim of liberal education as "ethical consciousness through which the student is brought to . . . enduring truths which govern our being [and] the principles of self control and the dignity of man." He also asserts the value of knowledge—even "useless knowledge"—for its own sake. He calls the college away from vocationalism, which he says belongs to trade schools and industrial training and from "specialized and professional studies which are the proper province of the graduate schools of universities."

Kirk also rejects "quasi-commercial programs of athletics" as anti-intellectual, expensive, and in vain competition with "behemoth" universities.

He would reject students who can't get into a great university or a state college, and set college standards higher than those institutions. He would "deliberately" limit enrollment. And he would "reduce to a minimum" elective courses in obeisance to "order and hierarchy" and to direct the young student who is incapable "of judging with discretion what his course of study ought to be."

These curricula and strictures, devoted to "furnishing society with a body of tolerably well educated persons . . . to provide right reason and conscience in the Commonwealth" will, through their educated graduates, "remind the rising generation . . . of a great continuity . . . and that we moderates are only dwarfs mounted upon the shoulders of giants" of the past, says Kirk.

A similar discrepancy can be found in the stated objectives of most undergraduate institutions and the procedures by which those objectives are achieved. It is very likely that the language of some statements of objectives could conform to some of the expressed desires of undergraduate students, but this affinity would be quickly dissipated on turning catalog pages to see how the program actually is to be implemented. Consider this statement, which is reasonably characteristic of the genre:

> Blank University is a community of professing Christian scholars dedicated to a philosophy of liberal education. The major goals of the institution are to inculcate a respect for learning and truth, to free the mind from the confinements of ignorance and prejudice; to organize the powers of clear thought

> and expression; to preserve and extend knowledge; to help men achieve professional competence and to establish lifelong habits of study, reflection and learning. An emphasis on the liberating arts . . . seeks to develop creative, reflective, and responsible persons. At the same time, the acquisition of specialized . . . skills is recognized as a condition of successful involvement in the modern world. The university . . . encourages the pursuit of rich and ennobling experiences and the development of significant personhood through an appreciation of man's intellectual, artistic, cultural and natural surroundings. The university affirms its fundamental obligation to confront liberally educated men with the challenges of Christian faith and to instill in them a true sense of vocation.

Then contrast that language with the language which really counts:

> General university requirements. A candidate for a bachelor's degree must present credit in approved courses amounting to a minimum of 128 semester hours, and have maintained a gradepoint average of 2.00. He must meet the general requirements of one year in residence, earning a minimum of 30 semester hours at the University during his senior year. A minimum of 40 semester hours of upper division courses is required. Other general policies regarding the eligibility for a bachelor's degree are:
>
> 1. No more than 24 hours of correspondence and/or extension work may be counted for a bachelor's degree.
> 2. Non-music majors are limited to eight hours' credit toward graduation for participation in the music ensembles.

This is followed by departmental requirements, and then the omnipresent list of courses being offered.

Although printed statements of purposes of colleges and universities in catalogs exert no great force either in directing what the college does or in helping students understand what the college is, the very phrasing of typical statements reveals a limited and a distorted view of human development.

One church-related college talks of preparing students for service and leadership in professions; qualifying them to enter graduate schools; improving fundamental skills and capacity to transmit understanding; aiding in the development of appreciation of scientific methods; developing qualities of citizenship; and cultivating a sensitivity to spiritual values.

A private comprehensive university, after a prologue which speaks of developing each individual's unique capacities, then specifies more precisely the traits which the college seeks to develop. These are the ability to perceive alertly with inquiring minds which operate through exact and accurate knowledge, thus allowing for reasoning and wise evaluation. The institution wants students to be able to articulate their ideas and feelings clearly and gracefully in writing and speaking. Ultimately, it wants students to place knowledge at the disposal of action.

A small church-related college for women holds as its fundamental purpose the development of self-educating Christian persons who are dedicated to the discovery of truth and to the service of others.

A comprehensive public university emphasizes early entry into advanced academic work, superior preparation for graduate or professional training, clear and correct prose, precise thinking, interdependence and integration of all knowledge, developing responsible citizenship, and leading students toward the exciting challenge of intellectual discovery.

Now, these things which colleges claim they are trying to do are not bad things; no one can really quarrel with rationality, intellectuality, knowledge, or good citizenship. One cannot really be against developing scholarly competence. But a number of words which do seem appropriate in the light of student testimony are noticeable by their absence.

Beauty, friendship, feeling, play, pleasure, enjoyment, appreciation, affection seldom appear. Yet it is this sort of word which names the experience that many late adolescent youth are asking for and hope the college will help them find. Student testimony on the values of friendship is so eloquent as to need no further remark. But students are demanding help to feel more deeply and fully, to help clarify their own identities so that they can enjoy and take pleasure from the world in which they find themselves.

Now, it can be argued that the college is, after all, an institution of limited mission, and that it can only concern itself with knowledge and rationality. If so, colleges should then reject what so many of them claim—that they are interested in the development of the whole man. The only judgment which one can really make about colleges and universities on the basis of their stated purposes and goals is that American colleges and universities are awfully academic, rational, and dull. Maybe this is what they are; but the question is, "should they be?" If they should be somewhat more joyful should not statements of objectives indicate this?

Then there is the matter of the order of courses. Because of college preoccupation with rationality, and because of the belief that fundamental learning must be acquired first, there is a strong tendency to place disciplinary or fundamentals courses early in the curriculum on the assumption that students' subsequent work should build on these. Thus, in a nondifferentiated liberal arts program, a freshman student would be expected to take rhetoric, organic chemistry, a foreign language, mathematics, and history of civilization. But the serious question can be raised as to whether these courses really are most appropriate as a means of helping freshmen to develop.

It now seems that courses having a heavier load of emotion and affectiveness would be more attuned to the developmental needs of college-age youth. Thus, during the freshman year, courses in art, music, or philosophy, if geared to exploring the questions of young people, might be more appropriate. There probably is ample time later in the college career for the young person to develop necessary cognitive skills which seemingly will come from disciplinary courses.

There are serious obstacles to such a reversal of practice. Students in engineering, several of the hard sciences, and teacher preparation typically have such a prescribed and theoretically sequential program that they must begin intensive disciplinary work as freshmen. While this necessity is compelling, it is not as compelling as faculties allow themselves to believe. A student planning to major in chemistry could take a year's course in mathematics, a year's sequence in chemistry and physics, and even a year's sequence in rhetoric, and still be allowed two-fifths of his entire program for the more feeling-laden courses. And there is no discernible, demonstrable reason why some contextual courses could not be taken with courses in the major. Thus, modern algebra and modern physics could be taken at the same time. Quite clearly this is true in most of the verbally-oriented courses, for few of these appear to fall into a sequential relationship. Thus, there is no reason why students could not take advanced psychology courses with statistics and research design. Or why they could not have history, political science, and economics at the same time and toward the last part of the undergraduate career.

Students also are asking for greater leisure to move at their own pace, and still have time for deeper penetration into subjects which interest them. The typical pattern for an undergraduate college on a semester system is for students to take five or even six courses at a time, each meeting three or four hours a week. The net result is they are constantly on the move from one course to another, and their out-of-class preparation is likely to be highly fragmented.

Although educational practices are culturally based and cannot be directly transplanted from one culture to another, it is possible to learn from the successes and failures of other educational efforts.

An essential part of the Oxford or Cambridge style of education is sufficient leisure so that students, under the guidance of tutors, can probe deeply into the subject they are studying. Students testify that they probably misuse leisure allowed them during the earlier part of their careers at these English institutions, but that eventually they sense the possibilities of an uncluttered space of time and begin to work. Colleges might well reduce the number of required courses and then expect students to delve more deeply into those subjects, with greater learning and satisfaction.

Since the student peer group is such a potent force in student development, the curriculum should be reorganized to maximize the use of peer groups for educational and academic purposes. Experiences with cluster colleges, house plans, and team teaching have demonstrated the feasibility of grouping as a technique of pedagogy. Florida State University is using the routine device of block scheduling the same students into the same courses to create an accidental friendship or primary group. The result is greater across-the-board student achievement. Team teaching at the College of Basic Studies of Boston University has, year after year, brought dramatic gains on the part of students who were not eligible to enter a bachelor's degree program as freshmen. Somehow, the close relationship between the eight faculty members and 100 students who worked together for two years as a group, following a prescribed curriculum, generated a force which was reflected not only in higher academic achievement but in higher achievement on various sorts of tests. The house plan at Stephens College similarly brings 100 students and five faculty members into a close and intimate relationship which makes a high residence hall *esprit de corps* and produces measurably greater achievement on common tasks than students in other parts of the institution.

It is argued that the departmental system already provides for this grouping of people with similar interests, but one must be skeptical about this claim. At the large, complex institutions, only the few students who join a departmental club see each other frequently. In the smaller institutions, the number of departmental majors is likely to be so small as to prevent the formation of the requisite critical mass. It also might be argued that large institutions are so complex it is impossible to organize groups of students who can enjoy a sustained relationship. It is true that there are difficulties, but once a ratio of faculty to students is established, this ratio may be manipulated in different ways to accomplish some of this salutary grouping.

Formal face-to-face meetings of classes can be organized for greater impact. In the orthodox style, students attend class three, four, or five hours each week in a regular pattern—such as Monday, Wednesday, Friday—in each of the five or six courses they take. This frequency of confrontation seems to insure that no class session is likely to be highly potent. This pattern virtually precludes the possibility for what Benjamin S. Bloom has called "peak learning experience." Bloom observed that once in a while a learning situation had such an impact that it commanded the full mental and emotional attention of the individual, and that subsequent testing revealed students to have almost complete recall of what they had been working on. However, students could not take too many of these experiences, for they are generally accompanied by a reaction. But if the number of face-to-face contacts in the formal classroom situation were limited, the instructor could prepare more thoroughly, and the impact of the class session could be substantially heightened. For example, college courses might bring students and faculty face-to-face in a formal classroom setting no more than an hour to an hour and a half each week. Students could spend time out of class working on their own, or under the personal guidance of the professor.

Such an idea, of course, is threatening both to students and faculty. It would mean that under the existing schemes students would be spending no more than seven to seven and one-half hours in class each week. This raises the spectre of students misusing their time and drifting into useless behavior. It also threatens faculty members who find that routinely meeting their classes is easier than long preparation for a single appearance.

A related matter is the length of courses. A tendency to offer one-semester or one-quarter courses is prevalent, and this contributes to the fragmentation of a student's educational experience. In a typical semester arrangement, students will take five or six courses each semester, several of which may be two-semester arrangements; but several will be one-semester courses, or the student will choose one semester of a two-semester sequence. So, in a nine-month period, students are expected to become proficient in seven or eight different subjects. Now consider the reality of a one-semester course in, say, labor economics. Ideally (and the ideal is rarely achieved), a student would spend approximately 135 hours in study and in class in the expectation that he will master at least some basic principles. Much more likely the student would spend 90 or fewer hours during a full semester in study and in class. Of course, there is need for some semester- or quarter-length courses; but, in order to provide time for the necessary immersion in a subject, the majority of undergraduate courses should be year-long sequences. With year-long sequences and no more than three courses at a time, the student would have the desired and needed leisure for deeper inquiry.

In some respects, mathematics, the hard sciences, and foreign languages have dictated part of the structure of the undergraduate curriculum. Because mathematics is a sequential subject, with the clear necessity for one course to build on another, and because advanced work in chemistry, physics, and, to a lesser extent, biology, require prior experience, the prerequisite system has been applied indiscriminately throughout the undergraduate curriculum—thereby imposing this rigidity on subjects which do not need it. This is not to say that valid argument does not support sequential courses and prerequisites; but, as a general rule, the practice should be questioned. For example, there really appears to be no justification for requiring a course on major British authors as a prerequisite to a course devoted to a critical reading of the comedies and histories of William Shakespeare. Nor does one laboratory science course seem truly necessary as a prerequisite for a course on the history of science. Very likely a large proportion of verbally-oriented courses could be listed without prerequisites, thus opening opportunities for more imaginative program planning. And the often arbitrary division of courses into "upper-level" and "lower-level," with accompanying regulations, also might be examined. Such a practice neglects the developmental purposes of education.

From one educational viewpoint, there is no such thing as a course. Rather, there is student John Jones, who is taking Shakespeare, statistics, or sociology for developmental purposes of his own. A so-called upper-division course conceivably might be most appropriate for some freshmen or sophomore students, and even a graduate student close to the doctorate could use and enjoy a sophomore course on medieval history, if that particular experience were what he needed. Eliminating the division of courses by levels could help free the curriculum from unnecessary regulation and make it easier to plan programs in the interest of the student.

Of a somewhat different order is the matter of discontinuities in the undergraduate experience.

In the traditional academic program, students move steadily from the freshman through the senior year in a four-year sequence at the same college. (Professors are really not happy if some of their students receive educational experiences at another institution.) But, in reality, students by their very behavior have made interrupted education the rule rather than the exception. Less than 50 percent of today's college freshmen will receive a bachelor's degree four years from now. However, in some institutions, some 65 or

70 percent of this freshman class will receive a bachelor's degree in the next 10 years. The rapidly growing public junior colleges are, for a few students, one institutionalized way of allowing for discontinuity. Gradually institutions have been creating other means of discontinuity, such as study abroad during an interim period, a cooperative work-study experience, a mandatory leave of absence, or a leave of absence to allow for such things as Peace Corps service. The essential aim of such fruitful interruptions is an opportunity for a complete change of pace from steady course work in order to help students assimilate the developmental steps taken in their formal courses.

Allowing for unusual exceptions, we can urge that each institution specifically provide for every student to have at least one radically different off-campus experience during his bachelor's-degree program. This might be a semester abroad; a semester in residence at a different location while doing cadet teaching; a semester, or even a year of planned work experience; or the freedom to use an interim period for such things as mapping an unexplored territory or serving as a participant-observer in something like the poor people's march on Washington. As institutions plan discontinuities, they should resist the strong temptation to convert interim period activities into variants of the course arrangement. Several institutions, for example, moved within three years from a quite flexible interim period to the point where a catalog of courses was published for the interim period. Such a development, of course, simply perpetuates the worst features of the course system of curriculum building.

Two other matters deserve brief comment, even though they are quite obvious. Institutions do attract different sorts of students; yet there is a strong tendency for colleges to pattern their curricula after the more prestigious or the more visible institutions, whether or not those patterns are truly appropriate. It is likely that accrediting associations have contributed to this practice. A small institution serving youth from a rural area, for instance, can serve students better than by requiring two years of a foreign language for graduation simply because other types of colleges do so.

The emergence of black power in the United States has given voice to a different kind of curricular criticism. The militant black student says that his curriculum is designed especially with the needs of white middle-class Americans in mind, and relies exclusively on materials dealing with the white Western tradition. He calls for courses which stress African traditions, Negro history, Negro contributions to society, and Negro artistic expressions and modes of thought. Now, if these militant Negroes are even partially correct, and there is reason to suspect that they are, we should look at the undergraduate curriculum with a view to stressing materials most relevant to the subcultures from which substantial numbers of students come. Thus, institutions might give greater attention to understanding the background characteristics of their student body and making curricular accommodations to them. A small Minnesota liberal arts college which attracts 80 percent of its students from Swedish-American farm families, for instance, might well base some of its course work on the values of that subculture. Similarly, certain New York City institutions might stress Jewish, Puerto Rican, or Irish cultures and traditions.

Students, particularly radical students, charge that an unfortunate homogenization of American life has been taking place, and this is apparent in the marked similarity of college catalogs. If this trend is unfortunate, then it might be modified if institutions would attempt to reflect in curricula the subcultures most relevant to them. We can hope that the institution just outside of Detroit stressing cultural values from Central Europe; the Southern California institution stressing Mexican-American values; and the urban institution in San Francisco stressing both Oriental and Afro-American values could each achieve excellence in different ways. The need of all students for a common universe of discourse could be provided through general education requirements; but the unique needs of students coming from various subcultures could be met in other portions of the curriculum.

While human needs are remarkably consistent, nevertheless, some needs and desires do shift over the generations and such shifts should be accommodated in the college curriculum. In the past there has been a remarkable cultural lag noticeable in collegiate institutions. This is well exemplified by the requirement—lasting into the 1920s at some institutions—that applicants should have a working knowledge of both Greek and Latin. This is not to disparage classical learning or classical languages, but to suggest that the classics no longer have the utility for life in the United States that they did for life in the American colonies. The demand on the part of students for shifting content of courses to coincide with shifting conditions and needs is well illustrated by the Free University type of course. This is a course outside the academic structure, designed to provide material that students view as relevant. Now, some courses of this sort may strike academicians as being bizarre and not really "education." Consider, for example, several 1968 course descriptions from the Mid-Peninsular Free University in California:

> *The Naked Ape* is a provocative current work by the British sociologist Desmond Morris. His basic thesis is that unless we understand our biological basis, we cannot hope to cope with our current social and political problems. In this group we will consider what man is biologically, and therefore what choices he has. This is a continuing class from last quarter, and enrollment is closed. Meets Sunday at 7:30.

A political science course is labeled "Have You Seen Behind the Hilton, Mr. Brown?" and the course description is:

> The seminar will investigate the problems of the powerless and create a program to educate the middle-class community, confronting them with their complicity in sustaining those problems. The course includes the following: (1) a weekend in core poverty areas of San Francisco, (2) solid research into specific problem areas selected by the group, (3) discussion of the issues with deep probing of individual attitudes and awarenesses, (4) formulation of a specific educational presentation, perhaps including film slides and interviews to be used in 1969.

And a philosophy and psychology course is entitled "Humanity and Rationality." Its course description reads:

> Is it possible to have a religion that can be established by scientific standards? Are all opinions necessarily only emotionally based? Truly, the straight rational person is screwing himself by being straight. Some of us know that we haven't begun to relate to each other. Unless we want to blow ourselves up or eat each other, it is imperative that we, especially the intellectual community which has the talents and knowledge to help in the process, recognize and accept the truth, viz., I live, (not I think, therefore I am) and the corollary imperative of cultural deconditioning by whatever means necessary.

Similar courses have been offered or have been recommended at highly respected institutions, and seem to have gained some student support. Antioch College reorganized its entire freshman year and developed courses which depart from orthodox norms and attempt to speak to changed conditions. For the spring of 1969, for example, such courses as these were offered: "Reading Poetry Aloud," "Pop Music—Pop Culture," "Alienation and Self-Alienation; the Jewish Experience," "Collisions on a Pool Table," "Electoral Politics," "Who Rules?" and "Black Ghetto."

The course "Electoral Politics" is described this way:

> Content: research, participation in and analysis of the national political campaign and of the Cecile for Congress campaign, here in the Seventh District. Analysis of voting patterns. The course will also include a post-election analysis of what happened and why. Process: the course will involve lectures and discussions

> every week as well as sessions in which actual experiences in the campaign will be discussed and analyzed. Discussions will be led by student initiators and associated faculty. Dan Grady will present research data on the Seventh District.

The University of California at Berkeley, not especially noted for its educational experimentation, recommended through its select committee the immediate creation of *ad hoc* courses dealing with matters which had aroused the interest of significant elements of the student body. It was suggested that course titles might be: "The Idea and Uses of the University," "Vietnam," "Literary Censorship," "The City," and "Sino-Soviet-American Relations."[2]

Conditions do change, and subject matter comprising the curriculum can and should be changed to meet those conditions. This may involve a radical departure from traditional ways of dividing human knowledge into manageable units, but there is no convincing evidence that those orthodox ways are necessarily best. Of course, it can be said that there is no convincing evidence for newer divisions. Nonetheless, experimentation with such new types of offerings seems mandated if student concerns are to be taken seriously.

The Antioch freshman year program also includes a structural device which might have relevance for other institutions. The premise is that different courses should require differing lengths of time, from one to two weeks to one or two years. We can conceive of an undergraduate curriculum in which students might take several courses throughout an academic year, but then take 10 or 15 other curricular experiences of shorter duration. Such a concept will, of course, bother those concerned with scheduling and the like. But it is possible, especially with the aid of computers, to provide flexible scheduling to accommodate, with some order, these different-length courses. Dwight Allen remarks:

> In the early 1950s educators began to question seriously the use of time in the curriculum. The need for assistance in the problems of scheduling large groups, small groups, laboratory, and individual study was acute. Educational theory was far ahead of administrative procedure. A number of alternatives were made routinely possible only through the use of computer scheduling: for example, large and small classes, long and short classes, modular curriculum units, new combinations of staff, more intense use of facilities, the addition of independent study periods, non-standard courses (longer or shorter than a standard semester, with more or less than the now-standard five hours a

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[2] *Education at Berkeley: Report of the Select Committee on Education* (Berkeley, Calif.: Regents of the University of California, 1966).

> week of instruction), a wider variation in the number of classes each student can take, and so forth.[3]

He then proceeds to demonstrate how the computer was used to provide flexible scheduling and a high degree of individualization of instruction.

Then there is the rarely used device of scheduling optional sequences of lectures. Once again, the English experience is instructive. The university schedules year-long series of lectures in subjects deemed of general interest. Students are expected to attend them only if they and their tutors believe it desirable. Scheduling a series of lectures in such common subjects as American history, and allowing students the option of attending if they feel a lack in their own intellectual development would be an appropriate substitute for placing American history among the required general education courses.

To emphasize an earlier point, it appears that much greater use of affectively charged courses is appropriate for the undergraduate curriculum, especially during the early years of a student's career. Greater use of literature in the freshman and sophomore years seems wise, if these courses lead students to read a wide range of materials, and to find idioms which speak to them. Greater opportunity to participate in studio experiences in the arts also can serve as a healthy counterpoint to exclusive and arid rationality. Rather than reciting a list of curricular possibilities which could emphasize affect, I mention just one. The only indigenous American musical form is jazz, a highly spontaneous form of music which speaks to the feelings of its performers and hearers. Yet few colleges or universities offer courses in jazz, feeling that it somehow lacks respectability. Ralph Gleason has said:

> It is challenging to contemplate what might be the result of some active, planned effort to encourage, rather than to discourage, the musically creative youth in our society. It is of interest to speculate what might be the result if "jazz education" were brought within the walls of our better high schools and colleges. It may be explosive to reconsider and to design appropriately educational experiences for truly creative youth in any form of art or in any educational discipline.[4]

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[3] Dwight W. Allen, "Computer-Built Schedules and Educational Innovations," eds. Don D. Bushnell and Dwight W. Allen, *The Computer in American Education* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 54.

[4] Ralph J. Gleason, "The Education of the Jazz Virtuoso," ed. Paul Heist, *The Creative College Student: An Unmet Challenge* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), p. 98.

chapter 5

Curricular Change for Student Needs

Categories can become deadly, but there is need to clarify and distinguish several different types of course experience provided students. In the past there has been considerable confusion about the meanings of general or liberal education, majors, minors, and the like. There has also been an inclination to praise or damn courses serving one set of purposes by citing the virtues or vices of other types of courses. It now seems that student development requires at least four different sets of educational experiences from courses. The first is a common set of experiences to provide a common universe of discourse—a common body of allusion, illustration, and principle—necessary for people to communicate with each other and to share and use the same culture. At one level this common set of experiences is provided by television; and partly by other mass media. However, other common learnings at a more sophisticated and richer level seem desirable.

The general education component of the curriculum should be viewed as providing this common set of experiences and nothing more. The touchstone as to whether or not a course should be listed under general education requirements should be: Is this course useful to all people living in the last third of the twentieth century? The decision as to what courses should be offered as general education should be made in the light of conflicting and contrasting values. The entire curriculum cannot be composed of general education courses; hence, choices must necessarily be made.

A second component of the curriculum could be called liberal studies; and this should consist of courses which students take to broaden their experience and to sample or explore different fields, frequently on a very liberal basis. Liberal studies would be courses in the arts or social sciences taken by the specialist in one of the hard sciences or mathematics, and probably should consume approximately a fourth of a student's curricular time.

Then there are those courses essential for a major or concentration, and another group of courses which could be considered as contextual, in which the major was studied. For a history major, courses in political science, economics, or even psychology would be considered contextual, while for a physics major, courses in mathematics and chemistry would be contextual. While no hard and fast percentages can be posited as a rough guide (engineers, nurses, and teacher trainees do pose particular and peculiar problems), general or common education should comprise a fourth, liberal studies a fourth, contextual studies a fourth, and a major a fourth of the student's undergraduate years. To increase the weight of the major beyond a fourth begins to distort the purpose of the undergraduate curriculum and to approximate the mission of advanced professional or graduate education.

In view of the expressed concerns of students in their struggles over personal identity and relations with people, institutions also should give curricular recognition to these matters. Recently, sensitivity training or T-group experience has commanded considerable speculation, enough that this element might be included in the undergraduate curriculum. One experiment is illustrative. All students in one experimental curriculum take several courses of an orthodox nature but also are divided into therapy groups of seven to 10 students which meet once a week under the guidance of an experienced group therapist. The purpose of this year-long group therapy program is to assist students in better understanding themselves and their emotions. These students are brought into face-to-face contact, or contact by telephone, with leaders from a variety of fields every two weeks. This presents these undergraduates with a number of adult role models to help students test their own growing awareness of identity. The third phase of this experiment is readings from such authors as Karen Horney, Abraham Maslow, Eric Fromm, or Erik H. Erikson on the theory that reading such writers will help students formulate and answer emerging questions about themselves.

Much more should be done to organize college courses so that students have real life experiences as a counterpoint to the theoretical or academic experiences they have in classrooms. The range of possibilities for such experiences is enormous. Out-of-class effort can contribute as much or more to student development than in-class experience. Several experiments from San Francisco State College can be cited. An affective learning project of encounter groups, theater games, body movement, and sensory awareness is an important element of the Creative Development Institute organized as part of the Experimental College, and does provide bachelor's-degree credit. A Craft, Trades, Skills Community Center provides a way by which disadvantaged youth can be trained in appropriate skills, and college youth gain academic credit for working with them. One important project of that center was the training of Negro cameramen who then could use those skills in portraying, from their point of view, Negro life. There also is a Black Studies Institute, to become a degree-granting department of the college. Then there is a Community Services Institute in which students have coupled community work with college credit. The program trains community organizers and stresses attacks on such problems as feelings of frustration, the need for creative expression, isolation from neighbors, and a sense of political powerlessness.

A major substantive matter which frequently is not faced realistically is what courses or experiences are really important and defensible in terms of the purposes of an educational program. If one assumes that the purpose of the general education component of the undergraduate curriculum is to provide that common body of knowledge, insight, principle, allusion, and illustration needed by everyone to cope with reality and to communicate effectively with others, then one may question including some courses while excluding others. Which, for example, in the late 1960s is more important for this common learning purpose—a course in natural science or a course including law, economics, and the realities of a post-industrial society? We could argue that since science plays such a crucial role in contemporary life, no person should be without an awareness of the basic modes of thought and presuppositions of science. But if we judge by the actual problems which most people experience, the actual subjects of conversation of all but scientists and their interpreters, we could argue that science, as such, does not really play a central role in the common experiences and discourses of most people. This is not to argue that science has no place in the undergraduate curriculum, nor even that science should not be included in the educational experiences of most people. Indeed, the counter-argument is compelling. But it is just possible that courses in science should be classified under some other curricular rubric than general education.

To etch this issue more clearly, consider two possible sets of general education requirements:

(1) Traditional general education requirements: This is usually a program roughly equivalent to one-fourth of the requirements for a baccalaureate degree. It could consist of a course in the humanities which would stress the Western tradition and would probe into selected artistic, architectural, philosophic, and

literary expressions of various ages; a course in social science which would interrelate materials from sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, and political science; a course in natural science which either would interrelate materials from both the physical sciences and the biological sciences, or which would stress one or the other; and a course in communications which would seek to develop skills of writing and speaking. Such a curriculum at least samples the broad domains of human knowledge and is defensible in the light of orthodox traditions of the liberal arts and sciences. However, it may be vulnerable to the charge that it still does not consider the concerns which commonly perplex not only college students but the entire adult population of the nation.

(2) Another conception of general education: This also would consist of approximately one-fourth of the requirements for a baccalaureate degree and would be spread throughout the four undergraduate years. There could be a course on ethics and theology expressed in the contemporary idiom. Such a course would raise and discuss questions like these: What is the proper stance for a conscientious objector? What are the theological implications of heart transplants? What are the ethica alnd theological presuppositions of the growing feeling of the need for law and order? Another course might involve law, economics, and the organizational and structural conditions of a post-industrial society rapidly becoming urbanized. This course would seek to help students understand themselves in relationship to an increasingly complex society. A course in literature would present students with a wide range of literary materials, some in contemporary idioms, to evoke aesthetic and emotional response. The aim would be to avoid extensive analysis and expose students to many literary works, with a primary purpose of helping them expand their impulse lives. A one-semester course in writing and an elective course chosen from a limited pool of courses created to meet general education needs would complete a student's program.

There are also questions about other parts of the undergraduate curriculum. There is a tendency to offer more and more specialized courses at the upper division, on the grounds that students need such specialization in preparation for graduate school, or that a valid major must contain a high degree of specialization. Both of these speak to the central purposes of the undergraduate college. We know that the majority of undergraduate students do not practice in any professional way careers related to their undergraduate majors, and that slightly less than half of the students who do attend graduate school do not concentrate on subjects in which they majored or concentrated as undergraduate students. If the actual needs and desires of students for specialization were considered, specialized offerings listed in college catalogs could be critically reduced. Further, this might solve the problem of the institution which offers more specialized courses than its faculty resources will allow. Only an extreme example of this is the small liberal arts college having one full-time professor of English, but listing 32 courses in English in the college catalog—including Shakespeare, the Pre-Elizabethan Dramatists, and the Elizabethan Dramatists excluding Shakespeare.

Many undergraduate college courses, both liberal arts and sciences, and professional or pre-professional, are predicated on the assumption that students will need this preparation for some future career. Yet, as has been suggested, the relationship between courses taken and subsequent work or vocation is far from a positive one. In the past, only a minority of students practiced the callings for which they studied as undergraduates, and in view of the rapidly changing labor market, it seems likely that most who receive a bachelor's degree will shift their callings two, three, or four times during a lifetime. Thus, for which calling should the undergraduate program attempt to prepare students?

Coupled with this point is the frequently made observation that the utilization of leisure will become an increasingly more important concern in the lives of most American adults than will a vocation. The phenomenon is already observable in the lives of middle-class women who find that convenient household appliances have saved much time which could be put to uses other than household tasks. But the same condition may quickly be faced by all, "for leisure may well be the most important industrial by-product of our coming generation as an outgrowth of a computerized age in which two percent of the population will be able to produce all the goods and food that the other 98 percent can possibly consume." Leisure will replace work as man's most time-consuming activity. At a 1964 meeting of leading political and social scientists, the president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science recommended such revolutionary measures as the establishment of Departments of Leisure in the 50 states and the compulsory teaching of leisure skills in the public schools. He was immediately challenged from the floor as being hopelessly conservative in his approach. An economist at the meeting claimed that "we face such an explosive increase in leisure that within a mere 10 years we may have to keep the unemployed portion of our population under sedation unless we can quickly figure out something better for them to do."[1]

It would seem that much more attention to skills and appreciation for leisure should be given in the undergraduate curriculum. This calls for enjoyment of literature rather than distaste for reading, satisfaction in sports, and especially skill and pleasure in conversation. College students testify to a desire for serious conversation but also indicate that they really do not know how to go about such conversation.

Perhaps the following rhetorical question might be used in serious curricular study. "Assuming that regardless of calling, most graduates of the undergraduate college are going to experience long stretches of leisure time, not only during their productive years but in years of retirement as well, what experiences should they be provided to insure that this leisure can be managed and can produce fuller human development?" This issue, at the moment, seems least likely of resolution. However, there are forces in operation which may bring about a change. Several projects of the National Foundation for the Humanities have demonstrated just how severely talented students are penalized by existing admissions and curricular structures. Studies of creative students have underscored the same point. It may be that as this evidence begins to mount, some faculties may be willing to modify previously held positions.

We know enough of student needs, desires, and demands to point to directions in which curricular thinking might go. However, such radical modifications of existing curricular practice generate a number of issues which must be resolved, or at least faced. Unless this happens, radical curricular revision just will not take place.

There is concern that in spite of the fact that students are asking for such revision of the curriculum, they really don't want it, and indeed would not patronize an institution which departed too drastically from orthodox patterns. Liberal arts colleges fear that unless they offer courses clearly parallel to those offered by major graduate institutions, students simply will not attend, feeling that for such high tuition they should be assured of the transferability of credits received. There is at present insufficient evidence to indicate whether or not this theory is warranted. However, the experiences of two different sorts of institutions suggest that it is not. The freshman-year program at Antioch represented a radical departure through such things as freeing students from attending classes and providing a number of courses organized simply by asking people to sign up on a bulletin board if they were interested. The freshman-year program encountered some faculty resistance, but apparently great student enthusiasm. While eventually the freshman-year program at Antioch may represent a blend of orthodox procedures and some of the newer styles, responsible officials believe that the college will never go back completely to the older style of curricular offering. At San Francisco State College, the Free University sort of course was assimilated by the institution itself. San Francisco State discovered that its experimental college stressing such new courses quickly attained and has maintained the optimum size of about 2,400 registrants.

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[1] Edmund W. Gordon, "The Culturally Different, Deprived or Economically Marginal Student: A Challenge to Education," Lewis B. Mayhew, *Higher Education in the Revolutionary Decades* (Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1968).

Even more vexing is the question as to whether or not faculty members trained in graduate school can adapt to a new curricular approach. The argument runs that faculty members form their ideas as to what is proper in the curriculum through exposure to graduate sequences of courses which focus on the systematic development of knowledge, and that they just cannot conceive of any other way of organizing knowledge and experience. They find the techniques of instruction—lecturing, instructor-led discussion groups, seminar work, and the preparation of papers—compatible and cannot conceive that students can learn in other ways. For example, an English instructor teaching a course in poetry was deeply disturbed when one student attended only one class meeting and did not submit any of his own attempts at poetry for critical appraisal. The instructor, however, was pleasantly surprised some months later to learn indirectly that the student had played and replayed a tape-recording of the one lecture he did hear, and used this as a guide for improving his own poetry. The student, in effect, had created a course for himself with the unknowing assistance of an instructor.

There is growing evidence to suggest that many students are, in fact, creating an underground curriculum which makes sense to them but which would horrify their graduate-school-trained professors. However, whether this underground curriculum can ever be legitimatized must depend on whether or not faculty members can adjust to it.

Serious question is raised as to whether major curricular innovation can take place in the large complex institutions in which most students will receive their undergraduate education. The argument runs that in dealing with numbers, modular curriculum units and categorical requirements are mandatory if chaos is to be avoided. It is possible, according to this viewpoint, that small institutions like Goddard College, Marlboro College, or even Antioch College can be experimental because their student populations are so limited. But, however, a Michigan State University, University of Illinois, or University of California, with its 40,000 to 80,000 students, cannot and therefore must adopt more standardized procedures.

It can be argued, however that the basic unit for manipulation is the faculty-student ratio, and that this ratio can allow great flexibility which can be kept track of through computerized course accounting. Just to provide a theoretical example: A faculty member's load in a complex institution might be divided into three portions. One third of his time might be devoted to a graduate seminar; another third would be given to an upper-level orthodox course; and for another third of his time he would be available to develop whatever sort of an *ad hoc* course he and a number of self-selected students decided upon. The expectation for the student would be that he also would devote perhaps a third of his time to the *ad hoc* sort of educational activity.

The matter of quality control, of course, is important. Traditionally, quality control over courses has been maintained by faculty groups actually approving new curricular ventures. In a complex institution such as the University of California, this may require nine to 12 months. However, quality control could be decentralized and the process speeded up. Perhaps within each major sub-unit of a school or college within a complex institution, a quality control agency could be created with power to act quickly on requests for new courses. This does require trust, but after all the entire profession of education is predicated on an assumed trust and faith.

There is the related issue as to whether some of these newer curricular ideas can be applied to professional schools. Professional schools, governed as they are—or are assumed to be—by the professions they serve, believe they have an obligation to insure that each student follows a sequential arrangement of courses which will insure minimum competency. An engineer, so the argument runs, must have a full complement of basic science courses and must have had enough laboratory and field work so that when he builds a bridge or designs a highway it will really work. Such a belief will die hard, but it must accommodate several disquieting facts or observations. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman observe that as the faculties of professional schools become more professional in their orientation, they are inclined to pay less and less attention to the demands of practitioners in the field. The professors themselves decide what the students should study, and the profession accepts those who are screened through this process. Thus if professors within professional schools wish to do so, they can change distinctly the pattern of experiences required of their students, in the full expectation that they would remain certifiable.

A few professional schools have begun seriously to change curricular patterns and apparently have run into no great obstacles. The Yale Medical School, for example, has arranged for first-year medical students to have clinical experience as one means of showing the young medical student what illness is really like, and at the same time meeting the needs of these young students for some kind of altruistic expression. The Princeton University School of Architecture is placing first-year students in work situations in urban conditions rather than concentrating on theoretical or exclusively academic modes of training.

A parallel issue is the possible adverse reactions of important constituencies to the institution. If a college changes radically its concept of general education, will the regional accrediting agencies approve a school which deviates from established norms? Would a regional accrediting agency, for example, be willing to accredit an institution strong in the arts which did not require a balanced spread of academically oriented education courses in addition to conservatory work in the arts?

Even more serious, in view of state certification and licensing requirements, is the question as to whether an institution can depart too far from established norms and still have its graduates certified. In California, for example, 45 hours of general education are required for teacher certification, and those courses must be of a certain prescribed sort. If a state college departed from this pattern, there is question whether its graduates could obtain their teaching credentials. Then, too, there is the expectation as to what graduate schools require in the way of prior training on the part of applicants. There is the fear that graduate schools would reject students whose transcripts revealed a number of *ad hoc* problem-centered courses in place of the more readily recognized sequences of courses labeled in traditional ways. And, of course, parents educated in other times have expectations which might be at variance with what an innovative institution was attempting. The private liberal arts college, for example, which depends on tuition charges, sees itself particularly vulnerable in this respect. Once again there is insufficient evidence upon which to generalize.

However, there are enough examples of successful deviation from norms to indicate that modification is possible. Stephens College has for over 40 years offered a number of atypical courses designed especially with the needs of women in mind, and has experienced very little difficulty in transferring its students to other institutions or in maintaining accreditation. It recently shifted from a two-year to a four-year institution, offering a unique sort of bachelor's program, and received high praise at the time of accreditation for daring to break with tradition. Antioch and Sarah Lawrence have long been experimental and continue to attract students of high ability who appear, for the most part, to be acceptable to graduate and professional schools once they have been certified by the college. What seems to be necessary is for the college to establish standards of excellence in the light of its own perceived mission, and then to communicate its techniques to important constituencies in ways which are understandable. Thus, the institution which does send a high proportion of its students on to graduate school must make the effort to explain to receiving graduate institutions what it is doing and why. This becomes a matter of personal relations.

The educational needs of highly talented students in the arts is a serious issue. Students in the arts with professional aspirations seem to require a steeping in the medium in which their talents lie, and they may very well have deficiencies in domains considered important by verbally or numerically oriented faculty members. Two questions arise: First, will college admissions committees, which are for the most part faculty-dominated, admit the highly talented student with academic deficiencies? Second, will the faculty tolerate a curriculum which is tailored to the needs of some talented students?

The rationale for institutions to pattern themselves after prestigious models is, of course, clear and passionately advanced. A bachelor's degree must stand for something, the argument runs, and one cannot really quarrel with this. But whether or not it should stand for having passed specific and frequently meaningless courses or developed a number of human competences is open to question. The Negro institution requiring two years of a foreign language might better have spent that time developing greater competence in English and coping mechanisms to help Negro students deal with the paranoia which comes from minority caste status. But other examples make the point. The small women's Roman Catholic college serving a second-generation ethnic constituency from Central Europe should have a curriculum which is substantively different from that offered by an Eastern men's college attracting, for the most part, fifth- or sixth-generation college-educated clientele.

Throughout this book the argument has been advanced that fundamental needs and urges of undergraduate students should be accommodated in the curriculum. An issue, however, arises from the professional feelings of faculty members who believe that they know what is good for students and that the decision about the curriculum should ultimately be made in terms of criteria established by the faculty. This point of view is poignantly expressed by the faculty member who remarked in all seriousness that "to base a curriculum on the needs of students is obscene." Now, we can agree that ultimately decisions about the curriculum should be professional and should be made by the faculty, but this does not obviate the need to understand as fully and deeply as possible what the development of late-adolescent students requires in experience and training. Perhaps the only argument which can be advanced is that students do not seem to gain appreciably from the curricular efforts as established by professors. If those efforts, which cost approximately 60 to 70 percent of an institution's operating budget, are to be effective, some changes should be made—and changing in the direction suggested by student testimony might result in greater effectiveness.

A final issue, closely related to the previous one, involves the needs of faculty and the needs of students, and the question of which needs should be satisfied if they conflict with each other. Students say they need leisure, and they need some intimate contact with at least *a* professor, but not intimate contact with most. They need materials which make psychological sense to them, and they need freedom to make many decisions for themselves. These needs frequently conflict with basic needs of faculty members. It is quite likely that the faculty member who has studied a subject intensively needs to communicate it in his own way to others; but he may require for his own development an audience to whom he can talk about what concerns him. It is also possible that the faculty member, because of the kind of person he is, wants some kind of master-disciple relationship with students; and it is also possible that because the faculty member gains his greatest security from rationality, that he would feel uncomfortable dealing with materials having a heavy emotional load. This point can be illustrated by one institution which did free students to attend or not attend professorial presentations, as the students chose. The students enjoyed this freedom, stayed away from presentations, and seemingly made as great gains as did students in previous years who had rigidly and rigorously attended classes. However, the professors whose presentations were unattended suffered severe feelings of threat, anxiety, and great disappointment.

Probably these conflicting needs must always remain in tension, but it is possible to argue that in event of direct confrontation, the needs of the student should prevail. Education is still a helping profession with a mission of facilitating human development. This point of view may, and probably should, require a sublimation of some professorial feelings and urges into some form which is truly of help to students. It has frequently been argued that persons attracted to surgery may generally experience some deep feelings of hostility and urges to destroy. These have been sublimated into the helping acts of surgery in order to maintain health and consequently human development.

Similar sublimation may be required for professors.

The actual construction of a curriculum requires resolving a number of troublesome issues, many of which have been discussed in detail. While no one undergraduate curriculum can work for all institutions, nevertheless the elements of a model curriculum can be presented with the injunction that every undergraduate curriculum should include these elements in some way.

There are at least four kinds of study which ought properly to be found in the educational experience of all students, although the proportion of time devoted to any one kind should be negotiable. These are the previously cited general, basic, or common studies; liberal or broadening studies; contextual studies; and studies of some depth reflected in a field of concentration or a major. In spite of powerful cultural forces pressing for a distinctly American character, there does seem to be a need for college students to acquire in common certain skills, knowledge, and ideals, some appropriate common learnings. But students also need to explore new subjects and to feed curiosity, even if it be a dilettante sort of curiosity.

The curriculum should be structured so that students are almost forced to elect experiences different from those in which they specialize. These experiences are here labeled as liberal or broadening studies. Probably most students benefit from some concentrated work in a limited area, if only for the sake of seeing just how complex a single field is. The major or concentration is supportable; but that concentration will become much more meaningful if it is done in an appropriate context. Hence, two other sorts of studies are suggested—contextual and concentrated.

Another curricular element is strongly suggested by the kinds of demands and criticisms undergraduate students have advanced. They sense that they need various experiences if they are going to develop in any comprehensive sort of way. Several are listed, but it should be clearly indicated that this list is not necessarily exhaustive.

1. Every student should have the opportunity to engage in independent study in which he sets his own goals, proceeds at his own rate, decides when he has finished, and feels free to use or not use professorial resources the institution provides. This independent work should not be confused with a scheduled tutorial arrangement, where the volition seems to rest with the professor. Rather, it should be the opportunity for students to succeed or fail on their own.
2. Every student should learn in large and impersonal situations. As adults, much learning goes on either through mass media or in large group lectures and the like; and college students should probably be able to do this without feeling threatened or particularly lonely. Thus at least one large lecture course might be expected to be part of the experience of every student, with no discussion groups, laboratory groups, or further assistance provided.
3. But students also need to learn to function in small groups, and do need the encouragement which a small group developing a high *esprit de corps* can provide. Thus the curriculum should be structured so that in some way every student has a sustained experience in a small group, and the time should be long enough so that the group could take on many of the characteristics of a primary group.
4. Every student should have a relationship with an adult professional person which is sustained over a long enough period of time so that the adult can serve as an appropriate role model, parent surrogate, and friend with whom the student can test his emerging notions of reality. This relationship is probably the most important single experience students require.
5. Every student should have a sustained off-campus experience of some sort. Whether this be cooperative work-study, an overseas experience, or the opportunity simply to study on one's own in a distant city is less important than that the student is encouraged to look beyond the campus walls.
6. Every student should have the opportunity to know intimately a culture or subculture different from his own. This may come from studying in a foreign university, from doing cadet teaching in a culture substantially different from the student's own subculture, or from serving as a participant-observer, infiltrating a subculture distinctly different.

7. Every student should be required to make a sustained effort over a prolonged period of time on some task. There should be some courses, possibly quite a few, extending over a full year or more, with final assessment left until the very end. The traits to be developed here are not unlike those generated by work on a doctoral thesis.
8. Every student should have opportunities to engage in a number of brief *ad hoc* activities, which should have the same curricular value as longer, more sustained efforts. Students should be encouraged to experiment and explore, but should not be expected to make major time commitments to such activities. It is conceivable that a number of explorations might consume no more than a week or two of time.
9. Every student should enjoy, unpenalized, opportunities to engage in play for his personal satisfactions.
10. Every student should have opportunities to gain deeper understanding of his own emotions and those of others. Sensitivity training, group therapy, individual counseling, or similar activities can lead to understanding.
11. Every student should have a chance to learn by using some of the newer media. Society is reaching the point where every college student should learn something with the aid of a computer and with a programmed course using audio and visual aids, direct observation, and reading. The newer media are so important that college graduates might be considered illiterate if they have not learned to use them.
12. Every student should have an aesthetically creative experience regardless of the level of his performance. This suggests some form of required studio work just for the satisfaction of creating something with wood or sound.

These experiences should all result in certain student competencies which are an obligation of education. The following are skills desired and needed by students, demanded by the kind of society into which they will move, and of legitimate concern to college teachers:

1. To read, write, speak, and listen with some sophistication in subjects of concern to people living in the last half of the 20th century.
2. To recognize personal problems and issues and to be able to resolve them with the best possible information and assistance.

3. To know and be able to use a library and other bibliographic aids—not only printed matter, but other media.
4. To cooperate intimately with others in solving complex problems.
5. To distinguish between cognition and affection and to be able to use both rationality and feeling for satisfaction of the total person.
6. To be able to relate in both evaluative and non-evaluative ways to other people, and to understand the appropriateness of each.
7. To be able to enjoy one's own activities without threat or guilt if those activities are unusual and not commonly valued by others.
8. To be able to identify gaps in one's own experience or learning, and to find ways to fill them.
9. To understand computers and other ways of arriving at quantitative knowledge, and to recognize both the capabilities and limitations of quantification.
10. To know and be able to express one's own values and to defend them and modify them when occasion requires.

The fourth and final element of a model curriculum is probably dearer to the academicians' hearts than the three previously elaborated. This element has two major components. The first involves the major divisions of human knowledge which come into existence and subdivide following the lead of research and inquiry. Obviously, the subjects listed in a curriculum will be determined by the mision of an institution, by the training and experience of its faculty members, and by the needs of the clientele to be served. However, all students should be exposed to some knowledge of the Western Europen tradition, American civilization, at least one non-Western civilization, the broad domain of science, and some technology, mathematics, and quantification. And they should do some interdisciplinary work which can suggest how various subjects illumine each other.

The second component consists of the several ways of knowing, ranging from the starkest sort of empiricism at one extreme to intuition and revealed truth at the other. Since all humans must make use of these different ways of perceiving reality, the college curriculum should at least sensitize students to the attributes, capabilities, and limitations of each. With the kinds of demands college students currently are making, overemphasizing the descriptive, the phenomenological, and the intuitive is probably wise. Such emphasis would come through courses in philosophy, the arts, and theology.

Thus, concepts of empiricism, experimentation, and statistical manipulation could be contained in courses in the natural sciences or behavorial sciences. Mathematics can be taught empirically, descriptively, or even aesthetically.

This four-part model is eclectic and is not intended for exact duplication at any institution. Rather, it suggests a way of thinking about curricula in times of enormous social change. Its purpose, as is that of the entire monograph, is to declare that the contemporary college student needs and can have a contemporary curriculum.